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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Foreign Minister Malile Continues Visit to Japan

Invites Japan's Nakayama To Pay Visit

AU1611141390 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 14 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of Japan, Taro Nakayama met on November 14 with the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, who at the invitation of the Japanese Government attended the ceremony on occasion of the crowning of the emperor of Japan, Akihito.

Over the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama thanked for the participation of the Albanian delegation in that marked event. He pointed out that the relations between Albania and Japan will develop further in the interest of the two countries.

On his part, Reis Malile expressed the feelings of friendship the Albanian people and their government have for the Japanese people and voiced the desire for the materialization of relations between the two countries in various domains. He spoke on the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania and its relations with different countries of the world and exchanged opinions on various international political questions. The foreign minister, Reis Malile, invited the Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama for an official visit in Albania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Over his stay in Tokyo, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, had separate meetings with the vice president of "Mitsubishi" corporation, Tagai, with the chairman of the Economic Federation of Japan, Kitamura, with the parliamentary deputy minister on international trade and industry, Nukaga, with the member of the chamber of advisers of the Japanese Parliament, Moriyama, etc.

Besides, he met with the president of the Japanese Foundation for International Cooperation, Yanagiya, and with the general director of researches of Japan, Shimamoto, with whom he talked on the cooperation between these institutions and different economic firms in Albania.

Returns Home 15 Nov

AU1611141590 Tirana ATA in English 1028 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 15 (ATA)—Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, returned home on November 15. At the invitation of the Japanese Government, he attended the ceremonies of crowning Akihito to the throne of Japan's emperor.

Malile Departs for CSCE Summit 18 Nov

AU1811193190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] The Albanian Government delegation headed by Foreign Minister Reis Malile has left to attend as an observer the summit meeting of countries participating in the CSCE to be held in Paris on 19-21 November 1990.

U.S.-Soviet Dialogue on Gulf Crisis Reported

AU1511093790 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Nov 90 p 4

[Shkelqim Beqari article: "Advances in U.S.-Soviet Dialogue"]

[Text] The now more than 100 day-old crisis in the Persian Gulf has involved many heads of state and other high-ranking personalities in diplomatic tours, talks, and contacts to solve it as soon as possible without repercussions beyond the region. U.S. Secretary of State Baker went to Moscow with this message, and met with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and President Gorbachev.

This is not the first time that U.S. and Soviet officials have met in Moscow or New York. Their meetings have now become virtually institutionalized, and have given impetus to a new stage of relations of dialogue and understanding. It is, however, the first time that the United States and the Soviet Union have shared a common standpoint and view on a regional conflict—in this case, the crisis in the gulf. Both sides think that peaceful, diplomatic, and political means should take precedence in compelling Iraq to withdraw from occupied Kuwait. "The United States and the Soviet Union are working together to implement the UN resolutions on this matter," Shevardnadze stressed after his meeting with Baker, while the latter expressed appreciation of the contribution of U.S.-Soviet cooperation to the gulf crisis. This unity of views, especially of U.S.-Soviet attitudes, is a positive step for the climate of detente observable on our continent. It testifies to the desire and goodwill to end the dramatic chapters of confrontation and to extinguish a dangerous fire which, although not in Europe, is nevertheless present in Europe and involves losses of millions of dollars. Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Western Europe are suffering a blow because of the gulf crisis, in terms of oil supplies or their frequent interruption. The United States and the Soviet Union confirm that these losses must not lead to human tragedies, which would cause no surprise in the wake of Iraq's blindly aggressive behavior. Today, any hotbed of tension in the world may also affect regions which are apparently geographically remote, because of the world's increasing interdependence and integration.

Nevertheless, the gulf crisis has entered a "new phase," which Shevardnadze and Baker discussed in detail. This phase involves Saddam Husayn's determination to keep Kuwait under occupation and the insistence of the international community on a solution to this problem, which is also complicating the Israeli-Arab conflict, as soon as possible. Shevardnadze and Baker essentially held a common view on this point as well, although with certain tangential differences. The United States is gradually coming to support the use of force, because the economic embargo, the blockade, and the UN resolutions are not producing results other than the release of hostages, which has been achieved more as a result of private visits by former high officials from Western Europe. "We cannot and must not exclude the possibility of the use of force against Iraq," Baker said to journalists at a news conference. For this purpose, the United States will transfer 40,000 troops and 600 tanks from Europe to Saudi Arabia before the end of the week. According to observers, the United States will not accept a partial solution to the problem, because the crisis could still remain open. It also refuses to accept any linkage of this crisis with the Middle East question. In contrast to his earlier stand, Shevardnadze now admits the possibility of joint military action, on the condition that it is undertaken with the prior approval of the UN Security Council and the international community. Those involved in the talks did not state which alternative would take priority.

The agenda of the talks did not confine itself to the aforementioned issue. The gulf crisis and many other important problems which Baker also discussed with President Gorbachev were seen as mutually dependent. It was observed that U.S.-Soviet dialogue and cooperation have been placed on a sound basis not only at summit level, but at other levels. Joint groups are working on specific aspects of this cooperation, whose realization has so far yielded positive results. Gorbachev and Baker committed themselves to giving fresh impetus to this cooperation, with international resonance. The drafting of a multilateral agreement on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and a U.S.-Soviet agreement on the reduction of strategic weapons were discussed in the context of the time limit which has been set for their signature, before the end of this year. The enforcement of these agreements will in practice help Europe to breathe in peace and security, and will increase the dialogue and cooperation for which the European peoples in West and East feel such a need today more than ever before. The strengthening of U.S.-Soviet dialogue in the service of disarmament and meetings between their senior officials are to the good of the favorable European climate of understanding and detente.

Constitutional Commission Meets 17 Nov

AU1811141090 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—The special commission convened on November 17, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to examine the complements to the Constitution of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania. It was presided over by the chairman of this commission, Comrade Ramiz Alia. After dwelling on the main directions of the work, the meeting defined the necessary and concrete actions to translate into life as soon as possible and at a high level this important duty, the People's Assembly charged this commission with at the 8th session of the 11th legislature.

It laid the stress particularly on the fact that in the work to examine the amendments and complements to the Constitution, the mass organizations, the press organs and radio-television should intensify their activity, to enliven the initiative of the working masses and specialists, so that the new juridical solutions and complements adapt in best possible way to the objective developments and changes of our society and open perspectives for the future. The meeting instructed that this lively work is needed during the stages of the work of the commission and particularly when these amendments are subjected to the discussion by the whole society so as to find the best possible solutions, which will be submitted for approval to the next session of the People's Assembly.

Press Views People's Assembly Session

AU1611142190 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—The newspapers "ZERI I POPULLIT" and "BASHKIMI" carry today editorials on the successful conclusion of the proceedings of the 8th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly. The editorial of the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" says among the other things:

The deputies, conscious of the role they have at these historic moments our country is experiencing as direct representatives of the fundamental interests of the people, unanimously endorsed the draft-law "On Elections to the People's Assembly," with the respective complements. Following the Constitution, the law on elections to the People's Assembly is one of the most important legal acts of a state. It has to do with the supreme law-making organ. The more democratic and contemporary from the juridical viewpoint the law on elections, the greater its impact on the democratization of the whole sociopolitical life of the country.

The law that was just endorsed creates real conditions for the people to elect democratically their best sons and daughters as deputies to the People's Assembly. Now two or more candidates are forwarded instead of one that was before. The candidates will no more be representatives of a sole organization, as the Democratic Front was, but of all the independent political and social organizations and societies recognized by law.

Undoubtedly, one of the most important materials unanimously endorsed by the Assembly, alongside the draft-law on elections, was also the report "On the Creation of a Special Commission to Examine the Completions to the Constitution of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] submitted by the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

The speech Comrade Ramiz Alia submitted to the Assembly substantiates scientifically the indispensability of amendments and complements to the existing Constitution. All these changes to the Constitution have a fundamental aim: to create all the conditions so that our country march at fast steps onward in all the fields and Albania join the processes of civilization and democratization in Europe at present.

The changes to the Constitution are of special importance. All of us have got acquainted in general with these changes. They testify in the best way to the fact that the processes of democratization in our country, which will also be reflected in the new constitution, are irreversible. The party, under the leadership of Comrade Ramiz Alia, wisely and courageously leads the historic process of the further democratization of the whole life of our country, bearing in mind our specific national, political, economic, cultural developments, etc., without making haste, and without delays either.

The Assembly also endorsed some other laws as that "On the State Arbitrage," "On Accountancy," as well as the law "On Some Amendments to the Law on the Administration, Preservation, Documentation and Circulation of Material and Monetary Values." All these laws have to do directly with the strengthening of the new economic mechanism, with the creation of all conditions in order to implement the economic reform in our country without hindrances.

The 8th session of the 11th legislature, which held its proceedings in Tirana from November 12 to 14, with the laws and decrees it endorsed unanimously laid another new step to the irreversible process of the democratization of the life of the country, "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion.

Deputy Interior Minister on Granting of Passports

AU1611141790 Tirana ATA in English 1016 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)— The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries an interview with the interior deputy minister, Veip Proda, which says among others:

Approximately 5 months have elapsed since the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly "On Granting Passports and Visas for Travelling Abroad" was endorsed. In order to assist the citizens, the sectors of passports were set up in all the branches of interior affairs of the districts. Since the beginning of the year till the issue of decree, that is, during six months, 5,449 passports were granted, whereas after the issue of the decree to date, that is within five months, 41,507 passports have been granted.

The decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly charges the Ministry of Interior to issue the respective regulations for its implementation.

The interview says further on that some embassies have informed that for issuing visas to go to the countries they represent, our citizens must forward the guarantee proved according to their rules, sent by the persons that expect them in the states they will go to. Whereas some other embassies have delayed procedures for granting visas. This has led to the fact that many citizens are still waiting for the visa to the respective states, although they have been equipped with Albanian passports and visas. Passports cost 200 leks and are valuable for 5 years, a visa 100 leks valuable for one trip abroad. As far as the limits, we might say that we try to satisfy the requests within the legal schedules. In cases having to do with vital interests of the citizens, the passports and visas are granted within a day.

As a rule foreign citizens and our compatriots residing in various countries get their visas in our diplomatic or consular representations abroad, after having presented there the respective documents. After this procedure the visa has been and may be granted in the border points, too, when the individual seeks it and he is informed of this.

* Kadare Explains Decision To Seek Asylum

91P20021A Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Oct 90 pp 1, 15

[Interview with writer Ismail Kadare by Laurent Greilsamer and Daniel Schneiderman in Paris; date not given: "Kadare's Good-bye to Albania"]

[Text] The voice which pronounces the fateful sentence is calm, as if, within him, the page had been turned long ago. "I have decided to leave Albania," Ismail Kadare announces, as if he were discharging himself of a burden. It is breakfast time in the office of his Paris publisher. The office is deserted except for a secretary who, in the next room, is putting in an envelope the writer's goodbye message to the president of the Republic, Ramiz Alia.

The 54-year old Kadare who had been visiting France for a month, accompanied by his wife and his two daughters, to publicize his novel *The Palace of Dreams* (Fayard) will not be returning to Albania. He is experiencing the heartbreak of every new exile who is leaving behind a mother, brother, and sister. His voice breaks only when he confesses that he almost had to leave his younger daughter, the 17-year old, behind in Tirana. It was only because of a miraculous interplay of circumstances that she happened to be in France the same time that he was. He tells us: "In the past, the regime would certainly have taken revenge against my family. Today, one can hope that it has abandoned the most severe aspects of the past."

[LE MONDE] Did you make this decision a long time ago?

[Kadare] The need to leave was instinctive. My reasons came later. They have been germinating since last spring, which was the spring of hope. Some small steps had been made toward democratization. For, example, Ramiz Alia had decided that the peasants could become owners of some of their livestock. At that time, I talked to Alia for close to three hours. I believed that he could become the Albanian Gorbachev. He is a person you can talk to. For example, we talked about the possible liberalization of travel abroad and the appeal for investment credits. Besides, I am responsible for the measure dealing with agriculture.

[LE MONDE] And then?

[Kadare] And then people might have convinced him that if he democratized the regime even a little bit everything would fall apart. However, Gorbachev has been in power for six years, hasn't he? Still, the democratization was stopped brutally. When I felt that there might be a clampdown I wrote him a long letter. When I received his reply I knew that the situation had already solidified. The atmosphere surrounding the situation with the embassies this summer confirmed that the promises of democratization were dead. In brief, I lost all hope of contributing,from the inside, to any softening of the regime.

[LE MONDE] Do you think that your departure will have any repercussions on Albanian political life.?

[Kadare] I am not leaving to cause a sensation or to cause trouble. A confrontation in Albania would be even more tragic than in Romania. It is a very tired nation, exhausted by tragedies. I am hopeful that my departure and my very absence will aid in the slow movement toward liberalization. You know that absence bears fruit. Sometimes it is stronger than presence. This is a powerful theme in literature. In addition, I have left my books which will work better than myself for freedom. They are studied in the schools and the universities. Several of my books were snatched from the bookstores in a few minutes. Later on, they were being sold on the black market by gypsies in the railroad stations. The regime cannot erase me from the school curricula at a moment's notice!

[LE MONDE] There is a lot of talk abroad about the regime being divided: hardliners against moderates.

[Kadare] That is a big question. I confess that I do not know anything about it. Alia's mind itself could be half-hard and half-soft.

[LE MONDE] It is paradoxical all the same. You are deciding to leave at the moment when the regime is showing some signs, albeit timid signs, of liberalization.

[Kadare] Before, there was no sign that this universe was about to change. Or it was thought that the change would be a very, very long term one. It is a titanic task to write real literature in an Eastern country. And then, for me, the communist world which covered half the globe, was the only possible, imaginable one. There were strict, but clear limits. Today, it appears that these limits are surmountable. But, in Albania I cannot surmount them. So I am leaving. I am a writer and I will always remain one; we say that disillusion has been more unbearable than oppression.

[LE MONDE] Is there no possibility that you might return? What would be necessary for you to return?

[Kadare] Albania would have to become more civilized and truly democratized. Contrary to a widespread idea, I believe that a multiparty system is possible in Albania. In 1924, the Albanians chose a Christian priest, Fan Noli, to be head of state. He established a relatively democratic regime for several months.

[LE MONDE] Don't you run the risk, like many exile writers, of cutting yourself off from your source of inspiration?

[Kadare] Absolutely. It is a risk. But I am ready to sacrifice the literature.

[LE MONDE] But you have never been prohibited from publishing.

[Kadare] Prohibited from publishing, no. But there have been some periods during which I came to understand that it was better not to publish. In revenge, "they" would suggest that a translator not translate your book. "They" would limit your invitations abroad.

[LE MONDE] Is there censorship in Albania?

[Kadare] There is no a priori censorship. Instead , there is monitoring at the publishing house. They call you, they tell you: "This passage absolutely must be removed." You discuss the matter. The passage is cut out but you can sometimes put it back in at the last moment without anyone noticing it. This is censorship "Mediterranean-style."

[LE MONDE] Then for the writer, the real problems begin after the book has been published.

[Kadare] As far back as my first book, *The General of the Dead Army,* in 1963, they criticized the pity which I showed for the Italians, the enemies in the last war. These criticisms became aggravated with The Great Winter, which deals vith the breaking off of Albanian-Soviet relations. There was a three-month press campaign against me, organized by the party committees.

Each time that I went out with my wife, people exclaimed with astonishment: "My gosh!! Are you free?" No one telephoned us. But then, one day, Enver Hoxha said, in public: "But this book is not really bad." The campaign came to a dead stop.

[LE MONDE] Were there any other campaigns against you?

[Kadare] Yes, in 1975, for a poem "The Red Pashas" which was to be published in a review. It was never published, since a journalist from the review denounced me before it appeared. They claimed that this poem called for the overthrowal of the government. I had to engage in self-criticism. Afterwards, I was prohibited from publishing for several months. No one in the West said a word. However, all the embassies knew about it. In 1982, when I published *The Palace of Dreams*, I was attacked again. This time, they made the mistake of attacking me openly and the West moved.

[LE MONDE] You were a member of the Writers Union. Was that any protection?

[Kadare] The Union participated in campaigns against me. The president of the Union, Dritero Agolli, was even attacked on several occasions. Certain books of his were also ignored by the critics. No one escapes the machine. The machine often crushes friends and neighbors since Albania is a small country. Agolli lives in the same building as I do, on the floor above me. One day, I met him on the stairway after a meeting at which he attacked me. "Forgive me," he said. "I could not have done anything else. I had to do it."

[LE MONDE] Why didn't you denounce these campaigns abroad? Ever since you wrote *Reproaches*, in particular, you have demonstrated great prudence.

[Kadare] Yes, I have tried to avoid useless scandals. I expressed the most audacious ideas in Albania. That caused problems for me with foreign journalists. Sometimes I was forced to dodge their questions.

[LE MONDE] But you brought your caution into the regime. You were a deputy [of the People's Assembly].

[Kadare] Yes, I was a deputy, from 1970 to 1982. A writer was needed, in the midst of workers, biologists, etc. But that did not protect me from criticism. On the contrary, it was the period during which I was most violently attacked. A very hard, dangerous period. Only the naive can claim that I was a showcase for the regime.

[LE MONDE] It has been said in the West that you travel in an official limousine.

[Kadare] That is ridiculous. It is true that I had a car when I was director of a quarterly review, Albanian Literature. But it was a Volkswagen Golf. In addition, all the royalties from my books, including the ones with translations abroad, which are in hard currency, are given to the Writers Union, in accordance with the law. This law was passed especially for me since I am practically the only Albanian writer translated abroad. I always travel at the expense of my French publisher.

[LE MONDE] Can the relative freedom of expression which writers enjoy in Albania be credited to Enver Hoxha.?

[Kadare] He lived in France. He knew that it is dangerous to interfere with writers. But I would say, rather, that the Albanian writer benefits from a sort of anonymous protection from the entire collective, which is based on a very old Albanian literary tradition. There are many intellectuals in Albania. Someone who speaks French, English, or German can be found in every family. Even the children of the members of the Central Committee, for example, are readers. If an official causes trouble for a writer, his own son might say to him: "Papa, aren't you ashamed? He is a good writer."

[LE MONDE] You have also been presented as a possible Albanian Vaclav Havel. Do you think that you could be persuaded to play an important political role in future years.?

[Kadare] The Havel effect has complicated my life. Everybody has asked me: "Are you going to become a Vaclav Havel?" I have received many letters and telephone calls saying: "You are the only hope of the people." But who was behind these things? Sincere people or provocateurs?

[LE MONDE] Do you think that the Albanian regime will be able to last for a long time?

[Kadare] If they move toward democracy, they will be able to last. Otherwise, they will not be able to. Communism has not really penetrated into the depth of Albanian society. The Albanians, if you will, are racists; for them, all those who do not share their moral code are amoral, just as, for the ancient Greeks, all other peoples were barbarians. This racism might have played a role in the passive resistance to socialism. After being liberated from the Italian and German occupiers, the Albanians prepared the communist meal and served it to themselves. The dictatorships of the 2Oth century are much more refined and more developed that the earlier dictatorships. Their most frightful and most effective strength is to compromise everybody, even the just. You think that you are combatting them and, objectively, you are helping them. Others believe in not doing anything against them and they do very much. The dictatorships are nourished by invisible streams.

'Hundreds of Thousands' March, Protest in Sofia

Vienna Radio Reports Large 16 Nov March

AU1611174990 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Wolfgang Ritzberger report from Sofia]

[Text] If one walks through Sofia one sees rather little in the evening, because Sofia is primarily dark. There are long lines in front of shops that sell foodstuffs—food is scarce. In SOFIA NEWS, an independent weekly—as it calls itself—of the SOFIA PRESS news agency, a journalist asks: Should I continue to be silent? We Bulgarians are a patient people, he says, but the price of gasoline has been raised by 100 percent, for fruit and vegetables we have to pay two or three times as much as in the past, and it is almost impossible to get so-called luxury goods, such as coffee, gym shoes, or chocolate, not to speak of services.

The westerner, the European, or the Austrian who walks through Sofia is also confronted with many things to which one is actually not accustomed. One does not get a taxi, one does not get a seat in the restaurant, and very often one hears in the restaurant: I am sorry but we simply do not have anything left.

This evening hundreds of thousands have gathered for a demonstration here in Sofia's main square, 9 September Square—at least this is what the communists in Bulgaria call this square. The ninth of September was the day of the communist revolution. Ostavka! they are shouting—this is Bulgarian for resignation. The government of Andrey Lukanov is called upon to resign. Prime Minister Lukanov, who is still a member of the Communist Party, was elected together with his party in the elections in Bulgaria on 10 and 17 June. However, the opposition in the country is growing increasingly strong. In Sofia it has been traditionally strong; only in the country have the communists been able to secure their majority. They are supposed to resign because there is no food anymore.

The women, who have called for this demonstration, have brought cooking pots and keys. They are jangling the keys and are beating on their cooking pots. This is to show that they have nothing to eat and that things should change quickly.

Is Sofia facing the eve of changes? The parliamentary debate, which today was relayed on Bulgarian radio and television throughout the day, did not yield any results. This, too, is one of the reasons why the people are taking to the streets.

Housewives Rally; Protest Planned 18 Nov

AU1611195190 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] In Bulgaria's capital Sofia 10,000 [as heard] housewives protested this evening against the serious supply crisis. In choruses they demanded the resignation of the government. With empty pots and bags and with the loud banging of pots the housewives marched through the inner city. In front of the prime minister's building, which was guarded by policemen with shields and rubber batons, they shouted their demand for the government's resignation. The women's organization Nadezhda, which has close links with the opposition, had called for the demonstration.

A large-scale antigovernment rally is planned for Sunday [18 November].

Antigovernment Rallies in Vratsa, Ruse

AU1611195690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] On 16 November supporters of the oppositional forces gathered in front of the former party committee in Vratsa, now property of the Municipal People's Council. The rally took place under the slogan: "Power means morality!" This was pointed out in the words of Petur Beron, Vratsa constituency people's representative. The time of communism in Bulgaria continued too long, he said. A party and a leader must precisely select the moment when to withdraw from power. They are making a big mistake by ignoring the fact that if not today than tomorrow Bulgaria will have a government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. There is only one man in the country who pretends that he does not understand this, and that is Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

The calls for the resignation of the government and the prime minister became even more categorical after Stoyan Ganev's statement, which stressed that the government continues its criminal passivity and avoids responsibility. The main factor in Lukanov's program is the price increase, which is a blow against the socially weak circles and an attempt to turn the political power of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] into economic power.

The participants in the Vratsa rally also demanded the resignation of Borislav Dubev, chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, as well as a trial for those guilty of the grave social, economic, and ecological situation of the city and its population.

A major SDS rally also took place in Ruse. It lasted almost three hours. The rally took place under the slogan "Democracy, competence, integrity, justice!"

The speakers and participants repeatedly called upon the BSP government to resign. Our patience is exhausted! Life or communism! These are only a part of the numerous slogans and exclamations against the ruling party voiced during the rally.

Leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and the striking students in the city also spoke at the rally.

At the same time, another SDS rally took place in Byala. Professor Elka Konstantinova and Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, members of the SDS Coordinating Council, took part in the rallies in Ruse and Byala.

SDS Supporters Demand That Lukanov Resign

AU1711143090 Sofia BTA in English 2158 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—Members and supporters of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces raised demands for Prime Minister Lukanov's resignation at today's rallies held in Ruse, Vratsa, Shumen and in many other towns and cities.

Communism should have long gone; parties and persons should time their withdrawal precisely, because delaying it is a great mistake, the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], Dr. Petur Beron, said at the rally in Vratsa and added that "if not today, then tomorrow Bulgaria will have a UDF government".

At the rally in Shumen it was demanded to outlaw the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Today thousands of women supporting the opposition staged a demonstration carrying empty pots "full of prosperity" (thus reminding the election platform of the BSP which promised prosperity to Bulgaria). They passed along the street in which former and present leaders of the ruling Socialist Party live, chanting slogans against the government and the BSP and banging on their empty pots.

The students from the Academy of Dramatic and Film Art and from other universities today marched across Sofia "bemoaning" "the funeral of the hope for Bulgaria's prosperity". The procession, which was organized with a sense of black humor, passed with dead marches, wailers, funeral speeches and the medal-cushion which had been a typical paraphernalia of the party leaders' funeral ceremonies at the time of the former regime.

The students strikes in 44 universities in the country continue. The strikers demand the resignation of Prime Minister Lukanov and the nationalization of the property of the BSP. Today three students in Plovdiv declared [an] indefinite hunger strike. They stated they will call it off only after the prime minister's resigns.

Rallies in Stara Zagora, Sliven, Petrich

AU1711143690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Excerpts] On 17 November a rally of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] took place in Stara Zagora. Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, spoke about his imprisonment in Belene and his meetings with Georgi Koprinkov, a worthy son of Stara Zagora. Slogans for democracy, freedom, and peace were raised. Other speakers demanded the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government and the seeking of responsibility for those responsible for Bulgaria's national catastrophe.

Professor Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Party, stressed that the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is conducting a scorched earth policy. According to him, the opposition should assume all power. [passage omitted]

The SDS rally in Sliven took place under the demand for forming a competent and active government. People's representatives Snezhana Botusharova, Georgi Spasov, and Aleksandur Yordanov spoke at the rally. They stressed that the passivity of the government is pushing the people toward poverty. Lukanov's program was described as the swan song of the present government. [passage omitted]

An SDS rally also took place in Petrich. The participants demanded the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government and the seeking of responsibility for those who caused the crisis.

National Rallies Continue; Pressure Grows

AU1711181790 Sofia BTA in English 1742 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—The pressure on the socialist government headed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov is growing. Today all over the country thousands of people gathered for the rallies organized by the opposition and insisted for the resignation of the government.

At a big rally in Sofia the students, who have not called off their strike, once again demanded Mr. Lukanov's resignation. They state this is the most important prerequisite for meeting their demands, namely, nationalization of the property of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and putting the culprits for the crisis to trial.

If a government dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] is not formed, part of the members of parliament will resign and will demand to hold elections afresh, opposition MP [member of parliament] Plamen Darakchiev said at the rally in Pleven.

At the rally in Pazardzhik the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions repeated that a UDF-dominated government should be formed. If this variant fails, the confederation will insist on dissolving parliament and setting dates for new elections. Opposition leader Stoyan Ganev said that in his opinion the present Bulgarian parliament is still in position to adopt some important economic laws. The economic nomenclature tried to prevent the rally—Saturday was announced to be a working day, at the time the rally was held the shops were selling bread and meat and the regime of power cuts was specially changed.

Anti-communist slogans and demands for the resignation of the government were raised today in Kyustendil, Sliven, Gabrovo, Silistra and Yambol. Opposition MP Dimitur Ludzhev stated in Yambol that the opposition would not support the project of the government for a rise in prices. He said that Lukanov was trying to evade his responsibility by pinning it on parliament.

At the rally in Razgrad it was stated that the culprit for the third national catastrophe in Bulgaria is the ruling

Socialist Party. The major demand raised at the rally was to form an opposition-dominated coalition government. Uncompromised Socialists can enter it, but they should not head the new cabinet, the speakers underlined.

At the rally in Gabrovo UDF leader Petur Beron stated that the days of the Socialists have gone for ever.

Today there was a "poverty day" demonstration in Khaskovo. The participants carried empty crates and portraits of Todor Zhivkov, thus expressing their protest against the inactiveness of Lukanov's government.

All rallies addressed declarations to the Grand National Assembly in which they insist that parliament should back up an opposition-dominated government. Support was expressed for the students' strikes.

According to information the BTA correspondents sent from all over the country, the rallies were well organized. There were neither riots, nor chaos.

The biggest rally will be held tomorrow in the afternoon in Sofia.

SDS Sets 22 Nov Deadline for Resignation

AU1811191790 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Nov (BTA)—The leaders of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] and the thousands-strong nation-wide rally held in Sofia this afternoon set Thursday [22 November] as deadline when the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) must cede the government.

The rally took place exactly one year after the first big opposition rally that followed former dictator Todor Zhivkov's ousting and five months after the elections which the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party won. "But there has been too little change," the speakers underlined.

Today the main slogan was "Prime Minister Lukanov must resign". It has been heard chanted at all rallies held in the country these days. The prime minister was personally blamed for delaying the reform, for his threats that he would resign and for his incompetent rule.

"On Thursday we will not vote for the budget proposed by the government, but Mr. Lukanov is brazen-faced and he might say he has been ordered by the Socialist Party to rule the country," the leader of the UDF, Dr. Petur Beron said and called upon the Bulgarians not to be passive.

The people, who had packed the square in front of the Aleksandur Nevsky Cathedral and the streets in the neighborhood, responded: "General strike".

"General strike" was the slogan raised several times today. The speakers insisted that Socialists' leader Aleksandur Lilov, former Minister of Defense Dobri Dzhurov and Prime Minister Lukanov must be brought to court. "Lukanov is the actual leader of the BSP," Dr. Beron stated. Some of the participants made demands for holding elections afresh.

But Dr. Beron and the other opposition leaders stressed several times they were against holding new parliamentary elections.

Feelings should not run high at rallies only, we are in for hard times when we will have to rule the country, Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democratic Party, said. He appealed on all Bulgarians who did not become party to the crimes of the totalitarian regime to unite and build up democracy jointly.

The Socialists and the supporters of the opposition will have to seek solution to the country's problems together in the future, RFE [Radio Free Europe] analyst Vladimir Kostov underlined. He is in Bulgaria after 13 years of emigration.

Representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party also addressed the rally.

Zhelev Appeals Against Violence, Provocations

AU1711192890 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—I call upon all political forces and civil movements, upon all participants in rallies and demonstrations to show high public and personal responsibility and not to allow any violence, unlawful acts or provocations which could disgrace Bulgaria before Europe and the world, the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, said in his statement addressed to the Bulgarian people. The statement he made on television this evening was prompted by his concern over the political tension in the country.

The president made the appeal in connection with the numerous protests, demonstrations and rallies at which the resignation of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov's government is demanded.

On Sunday [18 November] President Zhelev, Premier Lukanov, the minister of defence and the minister of foreign affairs are leaving for France to attend the CSCE summit meeting in Paris.

In connection with the numerous demands for the resignation of Lukanov's government, the president addressed the prime minister and the leaders of the parliamentary political forces, requesting them to discuss the settlement of the problem of the government after the official delegation comes back from Paris on Wednesday. His address was approved by all political forces.

In his statement made on television today President Zhelev underlined that all democratic forces should concert their efforts to solve Bulgaria's complicated and difficult problems by safguarding what has been achieved and going ahead by using only democratic and lawful means.

Students Refuse To End Strike at Zhelev Meeting

AU1711202990 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—At the meeting they had today with President Zhelev, the representatives of the Students' Strike Committee stated that they would not call off the sit-in strike unless their demands were met or unless they received guarantees from the government that they would be met.

The students have been on strike since November 5. They are raising trade union and political demands nationalization of the property of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and putting the culprits for the crisis on trial. There are sit-in strikes at more than 50 universities and colleges.

Today at the talks with President Zhelev the students stated they did not believe that Lukanov's government or any other socialist government would be able to administer the country. The latest proof of it is the inactiveness of the government as to the settlement of the demands we made two weeks ago, the students pointed out.

President Zhelev admitted the students' demands were just and grounded. He undertook to render assistance for their settlement. He will use his constitutional powers and will contact the respective state bodies on which the settlement of the students' demands depend.

The students' demands have been backed up at the thousands-strong opposition rallies held here these days.

National Assembly Postpones Voting on Budget Bill

Lukanov Only To Resign if Reform Blocked

AU1611173890 Sofia BTA in English 1628 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—I am not going to resign. I will give in my resignation only if parliament blocks the reform, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stated in parliament today when the amendment of this year's budget was debated. Yesterday the prime minister threatened he would resign if his proposal was not approved today. Some time ago, when presenting the program of his government at the Grand National Assembly, he said he would resign if the program of the Socialist government was not supported by the whole parliament.

The passing of the budget is actually a vote of confidence in the prime minister, the representatives of the opposition said. The delicacy of the problem made it necessary to give a three-hour break, so that the leaders of the major political parties could have consultations, at which President Zhelyu Zhelev was also present. The motion of putting off the passing of the budget for next Thursday was motivated with the country's international engagements at the moment.

While the prime minister today insisted that there should be a rise in prices, the national representatives were waiting in line to get their salaries. The main fault of the budget, which was passed yesterday at first reading thanks to the parliamentary majority of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, is considered to be the rise in the prices proposed.

The opposition points out that there should be no rise in the prices before the economic laws are adopted, because it would deprive many citizens of the possibility to participate in the privatization. In this connection Mr. Lukanov accused the faction of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] of "cheap populism". The demands made by the opposition forces are theoretically correct, but impracticable, the prime minister said.

In connection with the hypothesis of the UDF's taking over the administration of the country, Mr. Lukanov said he was sure any government whatsoever would follow the same policy.

The discontent with the inactiveness of the government is mounting. The prime minister's reply to this fact was that the Grand National Assembly was too slow with the consideration of the draft laws submitted by the government.

Yordanov Resigns Over Budget Decision

AU1611174090 Sofia BTA in English 1636 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—The leaders of our parliamentary group go to the consultations with the other political forces without having asked for our opinion and without having been authorized to represent us, Rudenko Yordanov, an MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told a BTA reporter and added that he did not want to be represented by people whom he had not authorized to and who did not ask him about his opinion.

He gave in his resignation today, immediately after it was announced that the political forces had agreed to put off the debates on the updated budged for next week.

My vote can change nothing, it is all decided beforehand, Rudenko Yordanov said. Later on, in the parliamentary lobbies, his colleagues congratulated him on his decision. I would follow your lead, an MP who holds a high ranking position in the BSP said.

This is the second resignation of a Socialist MP in less than 24 hours. Yesterday Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Politburo at the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime, former prime minister and former chairman of the National Assembly, handed in his resignation from parliament which was accepted.

Last week 16 Socialists announced they would form a group within the parliamentary faction of the BSP. They declared they would vote with their consciousness, without feeling restricted by the prevailing opinion of the parliamentary faction of the Socialists.

Probably the BSP parliamentary group is still seething with unrest, because according to information received in the parliamentary lobbies other socialist MP's are joining the 16-member group. A spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces announced at the beginning of the week that the opposition would closely follow the processes in the Socialists' parliamentary group.

Lukanov Refuses To Resign Under Growing Pressure

AU1711204090 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—This evening Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov called upon the Bulgarian public on television to give support to his program. He said that this support should find an expression. His statement was not planned and the time limit set for the regular Panorama Political Review was exceeded.

I am not going to resign, giving in to pressure, Mr. Lukanov stated. I will withdraw only if my program is blocked. But those who block it will have to assume all the responsibility. It will be the height of cynicism if the government which may succeed mine applies the measures I am proposing today, he said.

Of late the demands for the resignation of the one-party socialist government have become especially vehement students, working people and thousands-strong rallies insist on it, raising slogans "We are hungry".

Mr. Lukanov agreed with RFE [Radio Free Europe] analyst Vladimir Kostov that now Bulgaria needs a different government, which may not be headed by him, but which should by all means include Socialists.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov tried to deny the charges made by the opposition that his government is inactive.

Although without overstepping the bounds of good manners, he accused the opposition of having made their utmost after the elections to leave Bulgaria with a weak government, of not responding to the invitation to form a coalition, of delaying the adoption of the government program, of protracting the adoption of the 15 bills proposed by the government as early as this summer.

None of my opponents in parliament has proposed a convincing alternative program, the prime minister stated. But neither in parliament, nor on television this evening did Mr. Lukanov deny that a great part of his program had been borrowed from the election platform of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces.

The prime minister dwelt in detail on the program of his cabinet and the updated budget for the last months of the year which should be passed next Thursday [22 November]. The discussion on the budget should not be politicized, Mr. Lukanov underlined and said that he would not rule out the possibility of making some compromises. According to his statement he might agree with some points made by the opposition, for example those related to the problem of the budget deficit.

Prime Minister Said 'Greatly Worried'

AU1811171290 Sofia BTA in English 1643 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Nov (BTA)—According to Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov unusual formulas should be sought for overcoming the political crisis in Bulgaria. The political forces should not be diametrically opposed to each other and Bulgaria should not be ruled by a one-party socialist government any more.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov left for Paris greatly worried. He and President Zhelev will take part in the CSCE summit meeting there.

Demands for the resignation of the government headed by Mr. Lukanov are being made all over the country. Last night on television he was categorical: He will not yield to out-of-parliament pressure.

I am worried by the fierceness and the impatience of these slogans, the prime minister told a BTA reporter a few minutes before he left for Paris. He expressed his fears that "the Bulgarian democratic experiment may fail".

As far as the "unusual formulas which should be sought" are concerned, the prime minister considers that the people who will stay in Bulgaria while he and the president are away should also work on them. Mr. Lukanov is going to discuss these problems with President Zhelev during their visit to Paris.

In Paris Mr. Lukanov intends to hold talks with his Spanish counterpart, Mr. Felipe Gonzalez, with Mr. Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Community, with Mr. Jacques Attali, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and with other statesmen and politicians. "I will make use of all possibilities to discuss Bulgaria's economic prospects, cooperation and assistance," the prime minister stated before boarding the aircraft.

Decision on Name Law Causes Tension in Kurdzhali

AU1611165390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Petur Bakalov, our correspondent in Kurdzhali reports: After the decision of the Grand National Assembly on the Bulgarian Names Law, the situation in Kurdzhali is tense. A huge black mourning flag hangs from the window of the building of the Committee on Defense of National Interests. The situation is complicated even more by the anarchy in the municipal authority, which has already prevailed for two months.

There still is no provisional municipal administration in the city. The basic political forces in Kurdzhali demonstrate unity in their impotence and this in practice increases the possibility of unrest, Petur Bakalov concludes.

Fatherland Party Denounces Assembly

AU1611201690 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—The Fatherland Party of Labor (FPL) [OPT] declares that the Grand National Assembly is illegitimate, it is said in the political declaration of the FPL circulated today. The FPL insists that the Bulgarian parliament should prepare a new law of parliamentary elections which should be held simultaneously with the elections for local authorities and then it should dissolve itself.

The FPL, which has only one MP [member of parliament] returned, unites the nationalistically minded Bulgarians in the regions inhabited by compact groups of ethnic Turks. Their declaration was circulated one day after the Grand National Assembly approved the law of restoring the Arab names of the ethnic Turks who were forcibly renamed during the so-called "regenerative process". The Bulgarian parliament adopted a decision according to which the Turk names should be restored in their original variant, without the traditional Bulgarian suffixes being added to their second and family names. The MP of the FPL objected the decision.

Today the members and the supporters of the FPL in Shumen, Razgrad and Kurdzhali (where the ethnic Turks prevail) held rallies. They raised slogans such as "The Grand National Assembly—national traitors" and "Bulgaria was betrayed". In Razgrad the Bulgarians signed an address to the secretary general of the United Nations and to international institutions of human rights in which an appeal is made on the United Nations to intervene through its specialized bodies and "safeguard the constitutional rights of the Bulgarian population in these regions" which according to the address, "is subjected to systematic threats, physical violence and terror" on the part of the ethnic Turks.

In Razgrad the local Committee for the Protection of National Interests called for civil disobedience.

According to the Bulgarian Citizens Names Law which was adopted yesterday the ethnic Turks can change their names in an administrative way, without referring the matter to the courts of law. "The Turkish minority succeeded thanks to its unity," the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, Ahmed Dogan, said yesterday addressing the Turks who had gathered near the building of parliament, waiting for its decision.

Border Rally Reported in Svilengrad

AU1711200890 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia—Ormenikon, 17 Nov (BTA)—The National Committee for the Protection of National Interests (NCPNI) today organized a peaceful march to the border checkpoint at Svilengrad and a rally.

At noon the column from Khaskovo arrived at the checkpoint carrying national flags; it was followed by thousands of people coming from Kurdzhali and other regions of the country. A representative of the NCPNI from Khaskovo said that the supporters of the Khaskovo committee had come to confirm their solidarity with the intention of about 2000 Bulgarian families from Kurdzhali to ask for political asylum and seek guarantees in Greece.

Later on the Bulgarian customs authorities got in touch with their colleagues on the other side of the barrier. The expected group of representatives of Komotini did not arrive. The Bulgarian delegation presented to the chief of the police in the neighboring town of Orestiada an address on behalf of the Christian population in Kurdzhali in which the motives which made the 2000 families ask for political asylum in Greece were stated.

At the rally which took place there a protest was made against the decision of the Grand National Assembly adopted on November 14 this year on the amendment of the Bulgarian Citizens Names Act and fears were expressed that the eastern parts of the Rhodopes might be "Kosovized"—an allusion to the problem Yugoslavia has with Kosovo.

BSP Supreme Council Appeal Against 'Extremism'

AU1711152290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Nov 90 p 1

[Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party "to its members and supporters, and all Bulgarian citizens"; place and date not given: "Let Us Stop Extremism!"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] addresses you to express its great alarm with the development in the country's situation and the attempts of certain circles to utilize extraparliamentary pressure as a basic means of struggle for power.

For us there is no doubt that the street protests which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] intends to organize throughout the country on 17, 18, and 19 November aim to exacerbate the political situation in the country even more, undermine civic peace, paralyze the actions of the parliament and the government, which are the legitimate organs of power in the country, and push you toward anarchy and chaos.

Will we permit all this? Must we sacrifice the universal desire for a peaceful transition to democracy because of somebody's ambitions and intentions?

We again raise high the banner of democracy, tolerant political struggle, and civic peace. We again declare our readiness to act together with all political forces to lead the country out of its grave crisis. We are deeply convinced that this can only be accomplished through national consensus, peace, and common actions.

We do not question the rights of the citizens to express their political convictions, including through street rallies. However, this must take place within the law, without threatening the citizens' safety and public order.

As far as the government is concerned, the BSP's assessment is categorical: The government is the legitimate organ of executive power, and as the president said, its fate must not be decided in the streets but only in the building of the Grand National Assembly. Consequently, the government is legal, and the 100-day program for action, published by it, proves that it is capable of implementing its prerogatives.

As far as the BSP is concerned, its renewal will continue to gain momentum. The rallies organized throughout the country in support of the government, the constantly increasing number of those who reenter the party, and the admission of young people to party ranks show that the party of the Bulgarian Socialists has solid public support. Internal party processes which have recently developed, afford reasons to believe that the party leadership is capable of controlling the centrifugal forces that have emerged, and of leading the party out of the state of political passivity.

Against the background of the hardships of our country's grave economic crisis, the inevitable discomfort that will be caused by the approaching winter, the bitterness and political confrontation, artificially fanned by certain forces, we call for:

—more prudence and common sense;
—and unity in defending the cause we began on 10 November 1989.

We warn the organizers and participants in the upcoming antigovernmental street rallies about the danger of uncontrolled activities that could develop, despite the unwillingness of the political forces. We remind the organizers and initiators of actions that could develop into riots, of the great responsibility they assume. The bitter experience of the BSP headquarters fire as well as the historical lessons are a warning about the mortal danger that could jeopardize democracy and civic peace.

Let us erect a secure barrier against extremism and revanchism!

Let us support the achievements of our young parliamentary democracy with dignified civic behavior!

14 November 1990.
BSP Supreme Council.

BSP's Tomov Protests SDS Mass Street Actions

AU1511184190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Dora Kostadinova report]

[Text] I am at the very least perplexed that the political forces with whom we are negotiating agreements in parliament subsequently decided to carry their actions to the streets, said Aleksandur Tomov at the news conference held by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in the Sofia Press Agency on 13 November.

He stated that the appeals by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] for mass street protests against the government, broadcast yesterday on radio and television, are aimed at further blocking the government's work. "I cannot accuse the government of delay and inactivity when certain laws are lacking which are absolutely necessary for implementing the government's measures," the deputy chairman and coordinating secretary of the BSP Supreme Council said. He suggested that each should answer for himself the question why the Grand National Assembly does not adopt these laws, and why the SDS has started protests immediately after agreement had been reached between the political forces on parliament's legislation program.

It was stated that tomorrow the government would publish a schedule for "the first 100 days," and that the first results of the implementation of this program would be felt as early as next week.

Filip Bokov added that the appeal made by the SDS runs contrary to its previous position, stated by the SDS leadership on numerous occasions, that it has no intention of toppling the legitimate government.

According to Petur Balabanov, the issue of the government cannot be resolved by a mechanical transfer of votes from the BSP to the SDS. A government established by such a method, even an SDS one, cannot count on stability. In this sense, such "party politicking" should not be expected even from the newly formed "national consensus group," which Balabanov belongs to. He explained that the formation of this group is the subject of interpretations which reflect the political interests of the different groups. Three of the 16 members who signed the declaration on forming the group had breached the agreement made in advance to first inform the BSP parliamentary faction of their viewpoint.

The journalists showed great interest in the session of the BSP Supreme Council which ended early on Tuesday morning [13 November] (see the separate report on the session). Aleksandur Tomov stated that at this session a discussion of unprecedented frankness took place on the problems of the party and its leadership.

Among the interesting facts announced at the news conference were the decision by Stanko Todorov to withdraw from parliament and the number (194,000) of Socialists affected by the law on depoliticization.

Calls Situation 'Increasingly Tense'

AU1611113690 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Nov 90 p 2

[Telephone interview with Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party by Szerdahelyi, from Sofia on 13 November: "It Is Impossible To Work in a Lynching Atmosphere"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The danger of a government crisis still exists in Bulgaria, but Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov thinks that the current situation does not yet require his resignation. We obtained this information at a press conference held by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in Sofia on 13 November. Aleksandur Tomov answered our questions in a telephone interview.

[Szerdahelyi] Why is the Bulgarian Government and the BSP leadership so optimistic?

[Tomov] We are not overly optimistic, but, following a thorough analysis of the current situation, we decided that we should present a new program to the government and the people.

[Szerdahelyi] As far as we know, a faction has also emerged within the BSP faction, and this could lead to a split rather than stability....

[Tomov] The information according to which the "subfaction" currently in formation wants to leave the party is basically false information. I would rather call this effort a new reform line.

[Szerdahelyi] Will you also shift to the subfaction?

[Tomov] I want to maintain my present position by thoroughly agreeing with the reform efforts and I also support these efforts within the faction.

[Szerdahelyi] However, the opposition does not believe you. Have they again announced national demonstrations?

[Tomov] At the press conference we said that we failed to understand the demonstrations scheduled for this weekend. The mood is becoming increasingly tense in Bulgaria, but it is Bulgaria we fear for, not the party. However, one cannot work in the middle of incitement to a lynching atmosphere.

Future of BSP Parliamentary Majority Questioned

AU1411130090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Nov 90 p 4

[Boris Gergov commentary: "Is This the End of Bulgarian Socialist Party's Parliamentary Majority?"]

[Text] On Friday, 9 November, 16 members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] parliamentary group split from the parliamentary group and formed a group of national consensus. Thus a part of the monolithic unity, characteristic of the voting in parliament of the two major parliamentarian group—the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—was destroyed. The members of the group explained their step by saying that it was in the country's interest, which they consider more important than the party-political goals.

Having lost 16 of its members, the BSP parliamentary group will no longer have a majority in adopting decisions if the opposition votes as a bloc on separate issues.

There are assumptions that other BSP deputies will join the group. Boris Dimovski, who made a statement at the Friday Grand National Assembly session on the establishment of the group of 16, said during the recess of the National Assembly debates, that at least two additional BSP deputies—Dragomir Draganov and Yanaki Stoilov—who now are abroad, will surely join the group. He envisages that the group will grow to about 35 members of the BSP parliamentary group. If this really happens, the stormy scenes at the parliament will be enriched with new details.

The SDS will anticipate more frequent support on the part of the group on national consensus than the support it receives from the entire BSP parliamentary group. The opposition deputies hope that the actions of the new group will be directed against the policy of the present government and the BSP leadership.

The establishment of the group on national consensus was forecast a few days ago by Stoyan Ganev at a SDS news conference. On that occasion he stated that in the near future the parliamentary majority will be transformed so that the SDS ideas would be supported by BSP parliamentarians. This will be a temporary majority of the opposition.

The first temporary support that the SDS could expect, is related to forming the new government.

This assumption springs from the constituent declaration, which pointed out that the group is prepared to support a government formed by the different political forces in the parliament. The present government was accused of passivity, because no practical step toward implementing the reform has been made. However, it is an open question whether the 16 will support the SDS basic idea of forming its own government. The answer probably is negative.

The 16 deputies marked the beginning of a process of depoliticizing the parliament, despite the fact that they declared that they will remain within the BSP. They said that they will vote on the basis of their conscience, rather than according to the interest of their party. In principle, it is possible that the idea of the 16 find support in the opposition, where for the time being Rumen Vodenicharov is the only exception. Since the first session of the Grand National Assembly, the parliamentarians of the SDS vote on all important issues in an enviable united form. In the same manner they refuse to vote, or leave the Grand National Assembly hall.

In the halls of parliament some BSP deputies approved the step of the 16, however, they also pointed out that the present moment is inappropriate, because talks on forming a coalition are under way, and the formation of the group provides the opposition with a trump card. Others described the 16 as seceders. On the other hand, some SDS deputies saw the actions of the group as the anticipated split in the BSP, while in fact there is no such split. This was stressed by Veselin Pavlov, one of the 16, who said: "I would like to ask the SDS deputies to refrain from interfering in our party affairs."

Thus, the formation of the group of national consensus is no reason for exaltation on one side or denunciation on the other. It is merely a reason to repeat the oath of the Grand National Assembly members, namely, that the prosperity and welfare of the Bulgarian people is their sacred duty, and that Bulgaria will be the only judge of their performance.

Existence of 'Group of 16' Denied

AU1511122990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Grand National Assembly Deputy Petur Balabanov by Dora Chichkova in Sofia on 12 November: "The Group of 16 Deputies of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Does Not Exist Yet"; first paragraph is DUMA introduction]

[Text] "This group does not exist yet. It has not been established and has not adopted any decisions," Petur Balabanov, member of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], said yesterday before the meeting of the BSP Supreme Council. He is one of the 16 deputies who signed the declaration which announced the establishment of a "parliamentary group on national consensus." He said that for him the selection of the moment at which the declaration was officially read was a total surprise. According to him, this was the initiative of only three people.

[Chichkova] Has the "sensation of the day" been canceled?

[Balabanov] This became a sensation because of a crude distortion of the information by the second crew of Bulgarian Television, which reported that 16 deputies were leaving the BSP—something which does not correspond to the facts and is not clear from the declaration read by Boris Dimovski. There is not a shadow of such an idea in our intentions. The idea was also presented in a biased manner in Sofia Radio newscasts.

We by no means intend to cause a split in the faction or to oppose the party policy.

I must point out that the talks on forming such a group began at the end of September. A similar intention was announced at the Second National Conference of the Movement on a Radical Change in the BSP, and 10 days afterward, at a meeting of radical deputies of the Grand National Assembly. We strive to improve and accelerate the activity of the socialist parliamentary faction.

[Chichkova] Do you discern a threat of speculating with the establishment of this group?

[Balabanov] Yes, we clearly sense this. However, we think that as the ideological currents within the BSP did not contribute to weakening or destroying the party, our group will also not contribute to a fatal or crisis development. On the contrary, I would like to believe that despite the ambivalent assessments which were voiced because of the hasty action, the group will not be compromised, and the public will assess its activity on merit.

[Chichkova] An opinion was expressed that the opposition contributed to forming the group.

[Balabanov] The internal cause of forming the group was the dissatisfaction of a part of the BSP deputies with the developments in the parliament, in our faction, and in the BSP itself. Our subjective opinions coincide with the opinions of many Socialists and entire party organizations.

The ambitions of certain circles within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to utilize our dissatisfaction for their benefit is another matter. They would like to cause a split in our party by various means and thus to "correct" the "unjust" results of the elections.

I fear that the majority of the supporters who signed our declaration do not fit the role that others want to assign to us. The SDS will not buy us for several gold coins.

[Chichkova] What will happen in the future to the idea of forming a parliamentary group of national consensus?

[Balabanov] I believe that the possibility of establishing it has not been exhausted. One of our intentions is to seek contact with certain SDS circles, however, without preliminary conditions, and by no means on the basis of an ultimatum. Whether we shall succeed depends not only on us.

Split Reported at BSP Council Session

AU1711185890 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 15 Nov 90 p 3

[Krasimir Tomov commentary: "Attempt To Renew BSP Fails"]

[Text] What began at the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council on 8 November and ended on the morning of 13 November resembles the old joke about what happened on 9 September 1944: The sound forces defeated the sound minds.

In addition to voting confidence in the present leader of the BSP Supreme Council, (a decision adopted with 58 votes for, 50 against, and four abstaining), it has also been decided not to publish the letter that caused the long night discussions. Apparently led by the biblical saying that the one who disseminates knowledge disseminates sorrow, the remnants of the party leadership succeeded in keeping in relative secrecy the reason, character, and essence of the discussions, even anything related to the party members themselves. Invoking the decisions of the 39th BSP Congress, at which, by the way, they were elected in the same manner in which the meeting in Oborishte was prepared, they relied on the firm unity they demonstrated and succeeded in concealing the political and moral insolvency of this unity.

The fact that Lilov will propose changes in the BSP Presidium against the background of the resignations, resembles very much (if one could judge by the little that is known about the discussion), the entire verbal show, which obliterated the fact that no renewal of the BSP took place. With the same success a new Politburo could have been proposed.

In fact, the former members of Zhivkov's Politburo continue to be a solid support for the chairman. How valuable (and indicative!) was Dzhurov's statement about a coup! The source of this unity can be easily understood. We learned from someone who preferred to remain anonymous that huge six-digit figures were mentioned at the meeting. Those were amounts of money received by the same people from the special party account when they were at the height of power. Some people maintain that those documents are in the Chief Prosecutor's Office.

One way or another, the new (or last) attempt of the BSP to purge itself of people closely related to the former regime, to face its deceived voters with a new political image, failed.

The only significant result was the resignation of Stefan Prodev from the post of DUMA editor and the many question marks that the BSP faces.

Now Bulgaria has two Communist Parties with about 50,000 members.

Nobody knows how many members the BSP has. It is even more unclear how many members will remain after this scandal.

However, the split in the leadership, caused by personal ambitions, already is a fact. It would be naive to believe that it will not cause a split in the party, or at least a serious loss of party members.

Those who for years milked the same idea, have either developed such a great stake in this idea or simply do not understand that the cow has no more milk. Their supporters probably are not much more numerous than their accomplices.

The behavior of the BSP parliamentary group provides another question mark. The claim that the faction's discipline must be preserved, because the voters voted for the deputies' party affiliation, is not convincing from a moral point of view. It suffices to recall the BSP election platform and then look around. The government program itself, according to the prime minister's admission and the details provided by the "100 days" timetable, is far from the idyll depicted before the elections. The way things are developing, what happened in Poland will be repeated in Bulgaria with certain corrections. Rakowski's program was implemented by the government of Mazowiecki.

Several weeks ago OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK wrote that the Socialist Party, except for its leadership, exists only on an emotional level. After the recent events in the leadership, there is a danger that these emotions could develop into schizophrenia. The honest people in the party, who until now were already split between shame with the defection and puzzlement over policy, will understand that selfish ambitions hide behind the leaders' backs. For the time being, the leaders are successful at doing this.

The question is: How many will comply with this situation?

Former Communist Leaders Ousted From BSP

AU1311190190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
10 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Darina Lyubenova report: "Pencho Kubadinski, Dimitur Stoyanov, Khristo Ruskov, Petko Danchev, and Lazar Prichkapov Have Been Ousted From the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)"]

[Excerpts] "I have no reason to feel guilty,"—this was the position of Pencho Kubadinski at the meeting of the All-Party Control Commission. The members of the commission disagreed with him. They assessed that Pencho Kubadinski, who was a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for 32 years, and its Politburo for 23 years, is responsible for the grave crisis in which the country finds itself and that he personally participated in asserting the administrative-command system in Bulgaria. [passage omitted] Research shows that during the period of 1985-89 he has bought from the special store (or people bought in his name) 274 meters of woolen cloth, 96 pairs of shoes, and shirt blouses. Because of all this the All-Party Control Commission expelled Pencho Kubadinski from the ranks of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Dimitur Stoyanov was significantly more self-critical toward his activity and behavior in the last 20 years. However, the explanation that he only strived to implement collectively adopted decisions, cannot serve as a justification. Under the leadership of Dimitur Stoyanov as minister of internal affairs, the organs of the ministry, and especially State Security, turned to a large degree into the party's repressive apparatus. [passage omitted] With two dissenting votes, the All-Party Control Commission expelled Dimitur Stoyanov from the BSP ranks.

Khristo Ruskov was one of the first authors of memoirs about Todor Zhivkov's "partisan acts of heroism." As leader of the Hunting and Fishing Union, he concentrated great personal power and obliterated the union's bureau. [passage omitted] The members of the commission unanimously voted for his expulsion from the party. [passage omitted] Petko Danchev quickly joined the high echelon on the basis of family relations. As a member of Todor Zhivkov's closest circle, he mastered Zhivkov's style of work. Petko Danchev personally is responsible for the structural and cadre destruction of "Farkhim" and the grave economic situation of the biological and chemical industries. [passage omitted] He was expelled from the party with one dissenting vote.

The All-Party Control Commission has also received many tip-offs related to the party status of Lazar Prichkapov, former first secretary of the BCP Sofia Oblast Committee. [passage omitted] Lazar Prichkapov was expelled from the party for asserting Todor Zhivkov's regime, utilizing the authoritarian style of work in the BCP Sofia Oblast Committee, and his personal responsibility for the crisis and for undermining the confidence in the party, especially in Blagoevgrad Okrug. [passage omitted]

DUMA Calls People To Support Lukanov Reforms

AU1311133890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Nov 90 p 4

[Unattributed editorial: "Support for Lukanov's Reforms"]

[Text] Having a coalition government is the best solution. All major political forces must work together. Unfortunately, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has an unconstructive and even aggressive position, and this eliminates any choice in our public life. The circumstances require that Andrey Lukanov's government, although based on a single party, independently continue its efforts to lead Bulgaria out of the crisis. This is a cruel choice, but at the moment there is not any other. The political game of the anti-Socialist forces compels Lukanov and his ministers to resolve alone the fateful national tasks. There is no doubt that this will be a test not only for them, but also for all those who support them. It will be a test for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], its supporters, the parliament's left side, and the soberly thinking citizens of the country. This is a test which in the final analysis will demonstrate the real value of Bulgarian democracy.

The malicious speeches of the opposition in the parliament against the "Lukanov Program" and its thoughtless attitude toward a possible governmental coalition demonstrate the striving of certain circles to demolish public tranquility. Their obvious ambition is to remove the BSP from power at any price and at a total disregard of the consequent damage. The most recent SDS rally, the sit-in strike at Sofia University, and the threat of additional strikes constitute clear evidence of the fact that a new attempt to increase civic tension is under way. Forces known from the recent past, interested in removing the Socialists from the Bulgarian political scene, direct their efforts against the BSP and its government. Those forces are unscrupulous and are prepared for any adventure, if the situation allows them to play freely. Let us hope that those who are close to them and are more prudent and will succeed in cooling them off. Otherwise, something terrible might happen.

In this complex situation of noble efforts in the name of the nation and of attempts to undermine those efforts, we all, people from the cities and villages, must make our choice. We must know what the purpose of our life is and whom we must help. The road suggested by Lukanov is incredibly difficult. This is the road of depravation and suffering, which nevertheless, inspires hope. On the other hand the opposition prefers to make speeches, to yell "Stop!", and seek responsibility from others. Therefore, it is imperative to make our human and civic choice. Shall we be with Lukanov or against him? Shall we head down the difficult road of salvation or toward another rally of dissatisfaction? Every one must make his own choice. Otherwise, we will criticize, yell, strike, and rummage in the past, and we will also be dishonest. Worst of all—we shall not be useful!

TU Strike Committee Supports SDS Government

AU1611165590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] On 16 November in Sofia an expanded meeting of the National Strike Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria took place. The meeting was chaired by Krasimir Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the Strike Committee.

The opinion was expressed that only a government dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has a real chance to change the economic system and make specific proposals on overcoming the crisis situation.

An organization on coordinating the activity of all strike committees of the confederation was discussed and adopted. The National Strike Committee appeals to all striking workers to adopt measures for protecting their material base as a guarantee of normal labor process and preserving national property.

Government Urged To Begin Reform; Zhelev Chided

AU1411133990 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Nov 90 p 1

[Major Lyubomir Denov article: "Until When?"]

[Text] Recent reports from the roundtable, at which the political forces are still deciding the fate of our nation, clearly imply that the idea of forming a coalition (program-based) government has again has been abandoned. Apparently, this development calmed both the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic forces [SDS], despite the fact that both left and right claimed that only a government of national consensus could guarantee the success of the reforms.

Why did things develop in this way? I think that the intensive pressure in recent weeks on the part of the SDS, supported by the extraparliamentary attack of the student sit-in, the ultimatum of Burgas oil processing plant workers, and so forth, sharply abated after the first signs of an internal split in the BSP parliamentary group.

The televised statement of Dr. Draganov and V. Pavlov, followed by the official declaration of 16 Socialist deputies who declared their opposition to the sluggishness of the party leadership's actions, were accompanied by a difficult session of the BSP Supreme Council, at which the resignation of Aleksandur Lilov was discussed. Precisely those symptoms prompted the opposition to review its position about the government. First—because the SDS understands very well that regardless of what government rules the country now, it is doomed to commit suicide, or as the president successfully described it—it will be a kamikaze government. Thus, it is too early and clearly unprofitable for the SDS to assume the government. Second—the new distribution of forces in the Grand National Assembly would allow the opposition to eliminate the BSP majority at an important moment.

Therefore, it is not surprising that following the most recent consultations with the president, the SDS has started maintaining that Andrey Lukanov's cabinet is completely legal, and should start to rule at last. This change gave new force to the Socialists, who strengthened their categorical refusal to relinquish the key ministries and the post of prime minister. Thus, they have restored the situation that existed a few months ago. The only difference is that now our economic situation is much more difficult, and that Lukanov faces the third possibility of not keeping his word. Now only a few people believe his declaration that if the parliament does not adopt his program by consensus he will resign as prime minister....

I personally am alarmed by the passivity of the president. At a moment when the country is sinking, and when forming a strong government capable of finally beginning the famous reforms, Dr. Zhelev's declaration that there is nothing alarming is at least amazing. Bulgaria's new image will not be constructed by speeches and declarations, but through the specific dynamic actions of a strong government, which will inspire the confidence of our foreign partners. After all, Western businessmen have repeatedly stated that they will not hasten to invest in Bulgaria, mainly because of the political instability and the legal insecurity. Some 100,000 metric tonnes of corn will be sent from the United States before the Americans are even convinced that Bulgaria has set up the necessary organization to distribute it. What about the millions that Western governments will not be sending to Bulgaria as a gift, as in the case of the corn, but will invest for the purpose of making profit?

Lukanov's government has now been idle for three months. Well, not completely, if one takes into consideration the rapid increase in all prices. The parliament wasted a month in unnecessary debates about the program, without doing anything about its unfulfilled legislation plan. After all, no matter how revolutionary a program is, it is not worth the paper it is written on if it is not supported by the appropriate legislature.

Time should not be wasted any longer. It is high time to understand that a program-based government is utopia at the present moment. What parliamentary consensus could there be against the background of the ever increasing social polarization? If the government feels itself doomed—there are two possible variants: It should either begin the implementation of practical reforms with the hope of changing public opinion, or it should relinquish its place to another cabinet. I do not think that there is any other way. In fact, there probably is, but it is suicidal, because, there could be no other definition of chaos and civil war.

BZNS Assembly Group Declaration on Situation

AU1311114590 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 8 Nov 90 p 1

[Declaration of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, adopted at the 7 November meeting of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union Permanent Board; place not given]

[Text] The parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] expresses its great concern and anxiety with the intensifying political, economic, and social crisis in Bulgaria. Against the background of this complex situation the government creates the impression that it does not have total control over the management of the country, and thus a shadow is cast over the confidence it enjoys among the public. The program for action, proposed by the government, evoked a lively debate about the authorship, was subjected to criticism, and did not receive real parliamentary approval.

The two major political forces still have not utilized their significant possibilities for reaching consensus, subsequently, the National Assembly continues to limit itself to party declarations rather than parliamentary deeds.

In this very tense situation, the single-party government of the Bulgarian Socialist Party declared its readiness to resign. We think that this will impose the need to create a broadly representative government of national consensus, something the BZNS already proposed in February 1990. At the stage when Bulgaria must overcome the catastrophic situation in which it finds itself, this must truly be a government of national salvation. It must concentrate its efforts in radically resolving all basic problems which tolerate no postponement, and on whose solution Bulgaria's fate depends. The election of the president (chairman) of the Republic and the creation and successful functioning of the provisional municipal organs of the state power are examples of efficient cooperation between the political forces.

It is our opinion that the formula on forming the future government must be based on dialogue and constructive agreement.

We declare that the BZNS, which firmly adheres to the position of constructive opposition, is ready to contribute through its efforts to quickly overcoming the political, economic, and social crisis.

The BZNS parliamentary group thinks that at the present stage a parliamentary crisis could only complicate the country's complex situation and produce unforeseeable consequences.

We hope that common sense will prevail in the talks between the political forces and Bulgaria will continue to march along the only road of salvation that was selected by the people—the road of a peaceful transition toward the democratization of society.

Decision Issued on Shortage of Animal Feed

AU1711145890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] On 17 November an extraordinary meeting took place at the Council of Ministers in connection with the extraordinarily acute problems related to feeding farm animals until the new harvest can be utilized. The difficulties arise first of all from the fact that this year almost 1.5 million metric tonnes less of fodder grain have been purchased than last year. Simultaneously, the anticipated fodder grain aid from abroad will not arrive before the end of the year or the beginning of 1992.

As a result, the normal reproduction of farm animals in the major cattle breeding complexes and poultry combines has been jeopardized. A danger exists of a sharp decrease in cattle breeding in 1991.

Against this background it was decided to immediately release 100,000 metric tonnes of fodder grain from the state reserve. Simultaneously, it was decided to rapidly ensure the import of 300,000 metric tonnes grain, and utilize for this purpose all existing possibilities of receiving credits from Western European countries, the announcement of the Council of Ministers reads.

Cigarette Prices To Increase 80 to 100 Percent

AU1811220190 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Nov (BTA)—As of tomorrow the prices of Bulgarian cigarettes will soar by 80 to 100 percent, the president of the BulgarTabac Economic Corporation informed the BTA this evening.

There is a rise in the retail prices of pipe tobacco, of cigars and imported cigarettes too, but the new prices are not specified in the announcement.

The rise in the prices of cigarettes results from the increase of the purchase prices of tobacco in which 210 million leva will go and from the increase of manufacturing costs.

In connection with the shortage of cigarettes Bulgartabac informs that in the last 10 months of the year 15,522 tons of cigarettes have been sold, which is two tons more compared with the same period last year.

Minister on Compensation for Higher Prices

AU1411114390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Nov 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Emiliya Maslarova, minister of employment and social welfare, by Margit Terziradeva; place and date not given: "Details on Compensations for Price Rises"]

[Text] The consumer's shopping basket will cost 50 percent more because of the forthcoming increases in the state-regulated prices of 21 kinds of essential goods, which until now have been kept artificially low.

In his speech in parliament last week, the prime minister announced that the government is firmly resolved to take further steps to liberalize prices, but that these steps will be accompanied by certain social guarantees for the population. We asked Emiliya Maslarova, minister of employment and social welfare, to explain more specifically what is meant.

[Maslarova] On the average, the living costs of a worker will rise by about 90 leva a month; of a pensioner, by around 70 leva; and of minors (aged up to 18 years), by about 80 leva.

The government is in a position to compensate for the forthcoming increases in the cost of living by making additional payments as soon as the new prices are introduced.

It is envisaged that minimum wages will be fully compensated for the rise in the cost of living, i.e. by payment of about 90 leva. The compensation for all wages and salaries up to 800 leva a month will be determined according to a decreasing scale; this means that the higher the wage or salary, the more limited will be the amount of compensation.

In the case of pensioners receiving pensions of up to 250 leva a month, we are also providing full compensation, i.e. an additional payment of about 70 leva; the additional payments for higher pensions will also be on a reducing scale.

For children, an average monthly compensation of about 80 leva is planned, but this amount will vary according to the age of the child. This means that the family allowances payment system will be changed, by combining the previous payments and the planned compensation, so that 96 leva will be received each month for each child of up to six years, 115 leva for each child from six to 13 years, and about 130 leva a month for a child of 14 to 18 years, if he or she is studying.

Mothers who are on leave to look after children will receive the full compensation provided for the minimum working wage.

In the case of the unemployed and persons on leave because of temporary incapacity to work, the compensation will correspond to their working wages, on the basis of which their remuneration is calculated.

According to preliminary calculations, about 700 million leva per month will be needed for these compensation payments.

[Terziradeva] How will the compensation payments you have described be combined with the indexation system already adopted for the period until the end of the year?

[Maslarova] Until the end of the year, the indexation will be made on the basis of the wages and the compensation. This means that the gross amount of the wages and compensation will be indexed.

Of course, these are the government's proposals, and they must now be agreed with the representatives of the trade unions and the employers.

[Terziradeva] Do you have any substantial differences in reaching agreement with your social partners?

[Maslarova] I would say that we have no differences in principle. We are all interested in accelerating the transition to a market economy without increasing social tension, by providing guarantees for the socially weak strata of the population against major shocks. It is natural for one or two differences to crop up on specific matters relating to the scales, the contents of the shopping baskets, and the mechanisms for calculation. However, at the moment joint groups are working intensively on the disputed issues.

[Terziradeva] Is there any danger of the government failing to realize its intentions?

[Maslarova] Whichever government we may have, it will inevitably have to assume the burden of the transition, and at the same time will inevitably have to concern itself with the social guarantees. Accordingly, I believe that the draft plans which we have made will be of value, no matter what kind of cabinet there will be.

Companies' Production Falling; Debts Increase

AU1511115590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
12 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Dimitrana Aleksandrova article: "Why Are Companies Sinking Into Debt?"]

[Text] From the beginning of January to the end of September production has been falling, and the financial position of companies has been deteriorating compared with last year. This information was obtained from the bookkeeping accounts submitted a few days ago to the Central Statistical Administration. However, the latter points out that the figures quoted do not relate to agricultural organizations and private companies.

The information which the statistical service published a month ago showed that during the first nine months of this year production was 6.1 billion leva, or 10.7 percent lower that in the same period of 1989. The fall in industrial goods output was 5,007 million leva, representing a decrease of 13 percent.

According to the accounts, the profit balance of the companies and enterprises totalled 7,744 million leva, falling by 3.7 percent compared with the same period last year. At the end of June the fall was more marked, but in the meantime wholesale prices have risen by 6.2 percent over last year's prices. Actually, at comparable prices, the present profits are 27-percent less than those of last year.

Almost one-quarter of the profits achieved come from the budget, since 1,905 million leva is derived from premiums added to the price of products, premiums for exports, and subsidies for retail prices.

In addition, companies received 1,353 million leva from the budget as production incentives, and also used 153 million leva of their own funds for this purpose, making a total of 1,506 million leva.

Income obtained from profits, premiums, and subsidies totals 9,250 million leva, 36.9 percent of which came from premiums and subsidies.

The figures show that 4,144 million leva, or 44.8 percent of the companies' income was given to the state, 9.2 percent was paid out as contributions to the municipal people's councils, and 8.9 percent went to interest and insurance payments.

Thus, the companies retained only 37.1 percent of their income.

Perusing all these figures from the economic viewpoint, it becomes clear that the redistributive functions of the state budget are almost untouched. The bulk of the companies' income continues to be transferred to the state in the form of taxes, while at the same time considerable funds are returned to the economic organizations in the form of subsidies.

However, this two-way process covers only some of the companies. There are also companies which only give money to the state.

The figures on the credit side of the companies' balance sheets have increased as compared with the beginning of the year. The means and expenditure on capital investments have risen, which means that the amount of uncompleted construction is also increasing.

Notwithstanding the fall in production, the amount of circulating capital is increasing. The value of uncompleted construction is 600 million leva greater than at the beginning of the year. The value of finished products has also increased, but by a lesser amount, namely 400 million leva.

The stocks of goods in domestic trade have fallen by 500 million leva.

The debit side of the balance sheets shows that Bulgarian companies and economic organizations are sinking into debt; their indebtedness is 3.1 billion leva higher than at the beginning of the year. Companies hold 17.2 billion leva as bank credits, of which 900 million leva are overdue for repayment.

At the same time, the companies' own money funds have increased by 1.8 billion leva. The "Development and Technical Renewal" fund alone has grown by 1 billion leva.

These statistics once again confirm how absurd our economy is. Companies transfer strictly determined percentages of their income into strictly defined funds. They do not manage to spend this money for the purposes for which it is earmarked, but nevertheless legal regulations prohibit these funds from being used for other purposes.

Thus, the companies find themselves in the position that they hold money of their own, but at the same time are sinking into debt to the banks.

According to the information of the Central Statistical Administration, during the first nine months of this year the numbers of personnel employed in the companies fell by 157,000, as compared with the same period of 1989.

However, 7,112 million leva was paid out on wages and salaries, a rise of 14.1 percent over the figure for last year.

At first glance this is normal, because the cost of living has risen. The abnormal feature lies in the fact that this money is not covered in real terms. Average wages have risen by 21.2 percent, while the goods output per employee has increased only by 3.8 percent, states the information of the Central Statistical Administration.

Agriculture Minister Discusses Food Problems

AU0911215390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Todor Pandov, minister of agriculture and food industry, briefed journalists today on the food situation in the country. He pointed out that the fact that no animals have been delivered to the Rodopa Company enterprises over the last few days will further increase tension on the domestic market.

He explained the motivations, objectives, and tasks of the decree issued by the Council of Ministers on creating additional conditions for the introduction of market prices for basic agricultural goods.

As of 8 November purchasing prices became unrestricted, based on the rules of supply and demand. During the transition period preceding the total introduction of market prices for consumer goods and in order to compensate for the higher expenditures of the population, the difference between the purchasing prices set by the government and the new prices based on contracts will be paid from the state budget.

Minister Todor Pandov also dwelled on some issues of the ministry's policy in connection with encouraging the producers of agricultural goods and alleviating the domestic market crisis.

He defined the present export system of the country as a most deformed one and supported his view by the following fact: Despite the great shortage of foodstuffs in the country, 2,000 tons of meat were exported in October 1990 through unknown channels.

The minister made two official statements: In connection with the corn expected from the United States he pointed out that there have been recent rumors that the Ambrosia corn was infected by weeds. [as heard] In addition to the strict control on the U.S. side, the Bulgarian health services will also inspect the deliveries, Pandov pointed out.

In connection with the assistance which Bulgaria is expecting from the (?Phare) assistance program the entire amount of fodder will be distributed to private farmers and land-leasers who are raising animals on under contract, the minister stated.

Defense Minister on Retraining Political Officers

AU1311152790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] At a news conference given in the Ministry of National Defense today, Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defense, spoke about the development of the Bulgarian People's Army, the national military doctrine, and the prospects for the Army's development in coming years.

Minister Mutafchiev stated that the most important thing at the present stage of development is security, which in all cases must be achieved by political means, and not by military ones. The main characteristic of the military doctrine is its defensive orientation.

Data was announced on reductions in the personnel strength of the Army, while in the future the cuts will also affect the organs of command and administration, including the Ministry of National Defense.

Our reporter Mariya Stefanova asked a question of Minister Mutafchiev about the fate of the political officers, whether they are being totally redirected toward the newly formed units for educational work.

[Begin Mutafchiev recording] Some of these officers have remained to work and educate others. Others have requalified and as combatant officers will continue to implement their duties. Another group of them were granted the right to study at the higher educational establishments, to study educational science and other subjects connected with their future work as members of the Army command personnel.

Thus, we dealt in a serious manner with this issue, and prevented the emergence of a situation in which people might feel injured, despite the fact that there is some reason for such feelings, at least from their own point of view. [end recording]

Supreme Court Rejects Ilinden Organization Appeal

AU1611091590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 90 pp 1,2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report]

[Text] Three Supreme Court judges rejected as unfounded the appeal by the "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization against the decision by the Blagoevgrad District Court of 12 July 1990 to refuse registration of the organization.

The judicial verdict concludes that the organization is aimed against the unity of the Bulgarian nation. Its formation might provoke national and ethnic hostility. The organization is formed on an anti-Bulgarian basis. It affects the national independence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

According to the Supreme Court these aims are clearly reflected in the statute and program of the "Ilinden" organization. These documents contain a speculative mixture of geographical and ethnical concepts, with the aim of "recognizing a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria," "popularizing Macedonian history and culture," "defending the Macedonian historical past," and "the political development of Macedonia." All these aims serve as means for achieving "...a united Macedonian state."

The competent authorities have decided that there is no question of this being an organization which strives to defend and preserve the cultural originality and historical traditions of a certain national community, but that the organization aims to introduce and implant a cultural, historical, and nationality model which has been created and formulated outside this geographical region.

The Supreme Court formed the view that the arguments which motivated the refusal to register the "Ilinden" organization, with its headquarters in Blagoevgrad, were in accordance with the law. The decision against which the appeal was lodged is correct. No errors were made in the examination of the case and the drafting of the decision which provide grounds for quashing the decision.

In addition, the Supreme Court formed the view that the statute of the "Ilinden" organization is not in accordance with all the requirements of the law. It does not state the method of convening general meetings and notification of the agenda. This requirement of the law is imperative.

Vladimir Kostov Discusses 13 Years in Exile

AU1611155390 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—I have never ceased to feel I am a Bulgarian journalist, the well-known RFE [Radio Free Europe] analyst, Vladimir Kostov, stated at a press conference today which was more than two hours long.

He arrived in Sofia yesterday on a private visit after thirteen years ago, when he was at the zenith of his career a correspondent and officer of the Bulgarian Secret Services, he asked for political asylum in France. Some days ago President Zhelev issued a decree on the pardon of Kostov who was sentenced to death by a military panel in 1978. The journalist is going to authorize a lawyer who will make representations for Kostov's acquittal.

Mr. Kostov had to answer a lot of questions. Several times his replies were met with applause.

According to the analyst of the Bulgarian Section of Radio Free Europe it would be impossible to put former dictator Todor Zhivkov to trial if an extraordinary legislation is not adopted. The abuses committed by Zhivkov which are now coming to light are a mere trifle compared to the damages the Bulgarian people had to suffer as a result of his party's policy, the journalist underlined.

Mr. Kostov expressed his desire to assist if invited, the authorities investigating the death of the Bulgarian emigrant writer Georgi Markov who was killed in London in 1978.

Mr. Kostov's book on the case "The Bulgarian Umbrella", will be published in Bulgaria by a private company shortly.

Mr. Kostov will have talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev. Yesterday he had a meeting with Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev.

National Democratic Rally Denounces Communism

AU1011204590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] This afternoon a rally organized by the National Democratic Forum-Unification was held in the square in front of the St. Aleksandur Nevski Memorial Cathedral under the motto "Farewell to communism."

At the opening of the rally, Boyan Angelov of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party described 10 November as the day of the people and a funeral day for communism. The speaker's words were reinforced with cries of "Resignation!" and, "Down with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]!"

Aleksandur Dolev of the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party called for the return of Bulgaria's number one political emigre —Tsar Simeon II, who was expelled as a result of an illegal referendum in 1946.

In his speech, Yanko Markov of the Bulgarian Democratic Forum demanded a court trial of the persons guilty of causing the national disaster, and warned that in the absence of such a trial an international tribunal would be convened.

The audience greeted with approval the appeals made by Dimitur Popov of the Christian Social Union for the immediate formation of a new government of national unity, which should restore the status quo of Bulgaria on 2 September 1944.

An address by the Appeal Forum to the Bulgarian public demands that the full truth be revealed about the events in Bulgaria from 2 September 1944 to the present, and about the role of the Soviet Union during this period. The Grand National Assembly is called upon to urgently start work on drafting a democratic constitution within a deadline of three months, after which the president should call new elections.

The audience welcomed with particular enthusiasm the news of the formation of a United Agrarian Union at a constituent conference, with the participation of the members of the three agrarian unions: the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], the BZNS-Vrabcha-1, and the Nikola Petkov BZNS.

Yordan Sadovski, secretary of the United Agrarian Union, announced that the new union dissociates itself from the leadership of the BZNS and the Nikola Petkov BZNS, which have lost the confidence of the allied agrarians who desire unity.

Zhelev, Lukanov Depart for Paris CSCE Summit

AU1811171090 Sofia BTA in English 1635 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Nov (BTA)—The Bulgarian president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, left for Paris today at noon. There he will take part in the CSCE summit meeting.

"This meeting marks a new stage in the development of the all-European process through signing an agreement on the reduction of conventional armament and a number of other documents, which would enhance all-European integration and provide guarantees for security in the continent," President Zhelev said in a statement made on television last night.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and Defense Minister Yordan Mutafchiev left for Paris with the president. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, will join them there.

This evening President Zhelev will have a meeting with Greece's Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis. On Tuesday [20 November] he will have talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. He will have meetings with other statesmen and government leaders, too.

The Bulgarian state delegation is coming back to Sofia on Wednesday.

Kohl Letter to Lukanov on Economic Relations

AU1811185890 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Nov (BTA)—The ambassador of Germany to Bulgaria has presented to Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov a letter from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The federal chancellor points out that the Government of Germany is ready to seek mutually acceptable solutions to all problems in the two countries' business relations. The Federal Government, working jointly with the German business circles, will map out additional measures for increasing Bulgaria's exports to Germany and to the other European Communities member-countries and for improving the terms for German investments in Bulgaria.

The federal chancellor hails the agreement on sending Bulgarian building workers to Germany under employment contracts signed on the basis of the agreement concluded by the two countries. He will render assistance by giving humanitarian aid to Bulgaria, including the supply of medicines through the German Red Cross. Mr. Kohl underlines the intercession of the Federal Government for the entry into force, as of November 1, of the agreement on trade and cooperation signed between the European Communities and Bulgaria, thanks to which as of January 1, 1991 Bulgaria will be released from the quantitative restrictions imposed on her industrial goods export to the EC. The Government of Germany will apply other measures to promote Bulgarian exports: duty-free extraordinary contingents for the Bulgarian export to the new federal provinces, credits from the European Investment Bank, aid from the Group-24. At the proposal of the Federal Government the Commission of the EC will regularly take part in sending emergency humanitarian aid to Bulgaria next winter. Mr. Kohl assures that the representatives of his government will intercede with the leaderships of a number of international organizations to take into account Bulgaria's interests in an adequate way.

On presenting the letter, the ambassador of Germany informed that next week a representative of the German Red Cross was arriving in Bulgaria to agree a specification of the types and the quantities of medicines that were to be supplied. The aid will total one million Deutsche marks and the German side will cover transport costs.

Lukanov Letter Presented to UN Secretary on Gulf

AU1711180690 Sofia BTA in English 1659 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Paris, 17 Nov (BTA)—At today's informal international meeting at UNESCO organized on the initiative of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar in connection with the worsened situation in a number of countries caused by the gulf crisis Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, read a letter Prime Minister

Andrey Lukanov of Bulgaria addressed to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and the other participants in the meeting. It is pointed out in the letter that Bulgaria's economy has been severely hit by the gulf crisis, at that at a moment when she started the transition to democratization and marketization. Despite the losses she had to suffer, Bulgaria joined the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at the settlement of the crisis. Bulgaria is loyal to the solidarity of the world in its efforts to keep international law. On the basis of Article 50 of the UN Statute, Bulgaria appeals for understanding and aid on the international community which could help her overcome the serious consequences of the crisis for the country's economy, it is written in the letter.

Zhelev Returns, 'Pleased' With Visit to Japan

AU1611112390 Sofia BTA in English 1049 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Nov (BTA)—"I am pleased with my visit to Japan. It was a success," said Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, on his return from the five-day trip today. He assessed as "important" the consent of Japan, whose word carries weight in the G-24, to render financial aid for a rescheduling of Bulgaria's foreign debt. Japan expressed readiness to provide support to Bulgaria with respect to the G-24 humanitarian programs and to technical and technological aid. The Japanese visits expected soon in Bulgaria will activate bilateral contacts and will open up wide opportunities for cooperation. "Japan is showing great interest in Bulgaria and this is gladdening," Dr. Zhelev said.

He expressed satisfaction with his meetings in Japan with the prime minister Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, with the ministers of international trade and industry and of foreign affairs, with political figures and representatives of private foundations.

The president Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said he was dissatisfied with the work of the Bulgarian MP's who have not yet voted an amendment to Decree 56 to extend the guarantees of foreign investment in Bulgaria, which he expected one of these days. "Everywhere businessmen lay as a prime condition the requirement of guarantees for the investment they would make in Bulgaria, and political stability in the country is their second condition," he specified.

Relations Viewed With CSFR Ministry Delegation

AU1711182990 Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal Czech and Slovak Federal Republic held consultations in Sofia from November 14 through November 17.

It was underlined at the talks that the relations between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are entering upon a new stage which is characterized by realism, concreteness of the objectives in the political and the economic sphere and by readiness to make full use of the cultural and spiritual proximity between the two peoples in the new democratic situation.

Mr. Robert Harenczar, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and leader of the delegation of Czechoslovakia, was received by the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev; by Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and by Dr. Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Sharapov, Lilov on Future of USSR Relations

AU1411143390 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 46, 12 Nov 90 p 5

[Statements by USSR Ambassador Viktor Sharapov and Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, given to Penka Cherneva "at the 'Gorbachev—Laureate of Nobel Peace Prize' discussion"; place and date not given—"The Future: Not Deceptively Rosy, but Necessary and Honest"]

[Excerpt] Boris Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria: It is difficult for me to forecast the distant future of Bulgarian-USSR relations. However, the interest in this hall shows the degree of Bulgarian interest in events in the USSR. This means that there is ground not only to preserve the positive factors that for centuries have linked Russia and Bulgaria and the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, but also to strengthen those factors against the background of the democratic changes in our countries and Europe. After a time the processes that are now taking place will acquire a real face and then our societies will influence those same countries from which we are now learning democracy.

The changes in the USSR and Bulgaria indicate activity of new political and ideological realities, which, among other things, imply that we could continue to develop our cooperation. Unfortunately, we have witnessed many distortions, for example, in economic relations. They have often been of an ideological nature. Now we are seeking forms that are more acceptable to our own development. We will assess the emotional aspect of things, but we shall also take other realities, into account because production requires precision and specific goals. Both we and you will experience some unpleasant moments, but we must live with this. If we reach the understanding that we need our relations, we can find the appropriate means of strengthening them. I can mention as an example the decision of our economic community, adopted in 1989 here, in Sofia, to introduce prices in convertible foreign currency. We all agreed, however, afterward life showed how difficult it was to implement this decision.

My meetings in and impressions of both Bulgaria and the USSR and the mood in this hall, where representatives of various political forces are seated, make me think that in the future our relations will not be class-based, but will represent a movement of our peoples toward each other.

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council:

It will be a great misfortune for Bulgaria if it does not understand the strategic importance of its relations with the USSR. I shall not speak about the past, but about Bulgaria's future. This does not mean that we should close ourselves off. On the contrary, we must first open toward Europe, and the USSR is a part of this opening. We must open to the entire world, however, it would be a strategic mistake to do this at the expense of the USSR. We must not underestimate this, because it could bring much misfortune to our country. [passage omitted]

'Social Instability' Jeopardizing Foreign Aid

AU1311120390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
7 Nov 90 p 4

[Petur Gornenski commentary: "Hope About Promised Aid and Reforms"]

[Text] The amount of economic and humanitarian aid for Bulgaria increases with a speed that is similar to the speed of our economic slide toward the lowest point of the crisis.

In addition to the 25 million ECU [European currency units] from the EC budget that we will receive for financing projects in the areas of agriculture, environmental protection, and medicine within the framework of the PHARE program, the World Bank will also render assistance at many levels. It will be aimed at accelerating the restructuring of our economy.

The list of countries which help us on a bilateral basis already includes nine states. To date, the United States has sent 100,000 metric tonnes of fodder grain, Greece—10 tonnes of medicines, and Turkey has granted us a commercial credit and an investment loan of $50 million each. Italy also gave us 1.7 million ECU.

Unfortunately, the issue of the foreign aid always remains undetermined while social instability grows, the parliament works ineffectively, and political consensus cannot be reached. The foreign politicians, bankers, and economists first of all ask about the efficiency of using the resources that have been granted. No one wants to grant resources in a manner that reminds one of pouring water on the sand.

We must patch up our economic coat as soon as possible if we are to somehow make it through the winter. However, a difficulty has emerged. Instead of asserting more economic factors in politics, we allowed the opposite to happen. Consequently, the excessive presence of political factors in the economy evokes doubt rather than hope. Naturally, all those interested in patching up the coat, want to do it their way. As long as this continues any aid, regardless of how great or timely it is, will hardly play its most elementary role as a patch, let alone anything more than that.

Friendship Society With Turkey Established

AU1711205890 Sofia BTA in English 1931 GMT
17 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA)—Today a Bulgaro-Turkish Friendship Society was founded. At a news conference its chairwoman, Ms. Klavdiya Zaimova, reminded the contribution the Bulgarian intellectuals had made to the establishment of good neighborly relations between the two peoples and underlined that the tolerance of the Bulgarians today would promote the rapprochement.

It is the objective of the society to contribute to the strengthening of the friendly relations and cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Turkish people, thus helping along the construction of a common all-Balkan home which in its turn is a prerequisite for the inclusion of the Balkans in the all-European home. Special attention will be paid to the scientific and cultural exchange between Bulgaria and Turkey.

President Bush Pays One-Day Visit

Havel Greets Bush at Airport

LD1711100190 Prague CTK in English 0808 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—U.S. President George Bush arrived here today on an official visit, at the invitation of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who came to greet him at the airport. It is the first ever visit by a U.S. President to Czechoslovakia. George Bush will stay in Prague until Sunday morning and then leave for Berlin.

President Bush's visit is a reciprocation of President Havel's visit to the United States last February. Czechoslovakia is after Poland and Hungary the third country of the former Soviet bloc to be visited by the U.S. President on his journey to Europe.

Just a week ago President Bush signed the most-favoured-nation status for Czechoslovakia, of which it was deprived after communists seized power in the country in 1948.

President Havel described the visit as a "distinction" for Czechoslovakia in view of his busy program, concerning particularly the Middle East crisis. Czechoslovakia has joined countries which condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and decided to send a 200-member anti-chemical unit to Saudi Arabia to help civilians in case of an armed conflict.

During his one-day visit, President Bush will have talks with President Havel and other Czech and Slovak representatives. He will see the primate of Prague, Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, and deliver a speech in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) about U.S.-European relations. He will briefly address the inhabitants of Prague at Wenceslas Square, the site of mass demonstrations a year ago, demanding an end to communist rule.

President Bush's visit takes place amid stringent security measures, being ensured also by about 700 U.S. security men. Thirty thousand tickets were issued for people who are to be close to the glass cabin from where President Bush will address the Prague people. These measures are not directed against the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia who cordially welcome U.S. President. According to informed sources there are about 7,000 Arabs living in this country and part of them disagree with the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia.

Dubcek Welcomes Bush to Parliament

LD1711172790 Prague CTK in English 1146 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Alexander Dubcek welcomed U.S. President George Bush in parliament today, and stated that thanks also to the policy of the USA and West European countries, the states of Central and Eastern Europe were able to start changes.

Dubcek said that "owing to the changes set off by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, owing to the policy of the USA and West European countries, which emphasized human dignity and the rights of man, owing to expanding cooperation between the super powers to which a new impetus was given by Mikhail Gorbachev, also the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were able to proceed towards changes. Conditions were created also for our November 17, 1989."

Dubcek said Czechoslovakia was interested in becoming a firm part of the democratic world, striving through understanding and cooperation for peace. He said that "with understanding and support, we accepted your effort to defend a world where violence has no place, as in the case of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Law can triumph over lawlessness, understanding over hatred, and cooperation over hostility only by the united forces of all of us".

Havel, Bush Discuss Economics

LD1711141290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Presidents Vaclav Havel and George Bush had talks this morning at Prague Castle. They discussed, in particular, our economic problems, difficulties with regard to oil, and the situation in the Middle East.

President Havel said that the current economic problems are linked both with the transition to a market economy and with external influences, such as the disintegration of trading relations with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries. In this context he stressed that Czechoslovakia needs economic aid from the West, because otherwise our situation will be very difficult. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel again recalled our support for the UN resolution and the sending of our chemical defense unit to Saudi Arabia, which President Bush highly commended.

The U.S. President also had meetings this morning with other representatives of Czech and Slovak political life. [passage omitted]

Havel, Bush Continue Oil Talks

LD1711171890 Prague CTK in English 1312 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—The U.S. and Czechoslovak presidents, George Bush and Vaclav Havel respectively, met for their first talks shortly after arriving at Prague Castle here today.

George Bush is accompanied by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Chief of the White House Staff John Sununu and other officials.

Meanwhile, the wives of the two presidents, Barbara Bush and Olga Havlova, went to inspect an institute for handicapped children. The Czechoslovak and U.S. presidents, Vaclav Havel and George Bush respectively, met first for a 15-minute talk at Prague Castle, described by Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky as a meeting of friends.

Zantovsky said they discussed Czechoslovakia's economic problems and difficulties with oil supplies, and the situation in the Middle East.

President Bush was interested in the Czechoslovak side's assessment of the political and economic situation in the country, according to the spokesman. President Havel stated that the current economic problems were linked with the transition to market economy and with external influences, for instance, the collapse of trade relations with the USSR and other countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. He said Czechoslovakia needed economic aid from the West as otherwise it would be in a difficult situation. Economic aid is expected to come mainly from major international economic institutions, i.e. the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Community. The initial amount would be about 3,500 million dollars, of which about 1,500 million dollars would serve as a stabilizing fund and 2,000 million for eliminating Czechoslovakia's balance of payments deficit.

President Bush said the USA was aware of this need and would exert political efforts in international institutions so that Czechoslovakia and other Central and East European countries, notably Hungary and Poland, obtain this necessary assistance. The USA hopes that its political influence will help accelerate aid worth 9,000 million dollars, which the IMF is preparing to help Central and Eastern Europe, and to achieve a further aid package worth 5,000 million dollars.

In the debate on the political situation, Havel informed the President of some of Czechoslovakia's problems, including the minorities. He compared them with the situation in the Soviet Union, emphasizing that Czechoslovakia wants to create a well-functioning federal system and all, except for small groups of nationalists, agree that the federation must be preserved. President Bush stressed the need for a strong federal government so that the country's internal and outward stability may be maintained.

Of the Middle East situation President Bush said he still hopes that Saddam Husayn will realize he must leave Kuwait in order that the situation is settled, and that the latest moves of the U.S. troops in the region serve to emphasize the U.S. position. He said Husayn's action was unpredictable and it cannot be ruled out that he will not retreat. Havel mentioned in this context Czechoslovakia's support to the U.N. Security Council resolution and the sending of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical defence unit to help Saudi Arabia, which was appreciated by the U.S. President.

Czechoslovak President's Spokesman Michael Zantovsky told CTK that President Bush was interested in the talks in how the oil crisis affected Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak side told him that the problems were not caused mainly or only by the Middle East crisis but primarily by irregular supplies and changed conditions of deliveries from the Soviet Union.

In the discussion of European politics, President Bush stressed several times that the United States did not wish a vacuum without strong relations with other countries to emerge in Central Europe. It welcomes all association agreements that begin to link Czechoslovakia with the West.

George Bush was interested in Czechoslovakia's views on the future of the Helsinki process. President Havel told him that Czechoslovakia would like to see the Helsinki process to pass from recommendations to governments to a form of contractual commitments between the participating states.

According to Zantovsky, President Bush voiced the conviction that the Paris summit would decide in favour of Prague as the seat of a permanent Helsinki conference secretariat. The United States does not wish countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary to be non-countries, it wants them to be firm parts of Europe.

On the Czechoslovak side the talks were attended also by Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, head of the president's office Karl Schwarzenberg and advisers Alexandr Vondra and Richard Wargner. The United States was represented by Ambassador Shirley Temple-Black, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu and National Security Affairs Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Havel Answers Questions on Aid

LD1711213790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1346 GMT 17 Nov 90

[News conference by President Vaclav Havel and President George Bush with domestic and foreign journalists at Prague Castle—live]

[Excerpts] [Havel] Esteemed friends, I welcome you to our brief meeting with our distinguished guest, President Bush, and myself. We are ready to answer your questions. Before we start, I should, perhaps, tell you in two sentences what we have been discussing. We have discussed various topics, but we have focused on the following subjects: We have presented information on the present situation in Czechoslovakia and a possible assistance or cooperation with the United States of America. Secondly, we have also discussed the future of Europe in connection with the forthcoming summit in Paris and the future of the Helsinki process; on this issue we have had very similar if not even identical views. And thirdly, we have naturally talked in some length about the situation in the Persian Gulf. You can now ask us questions; they will be answered alternately by President Bush and myself, with me being the one to answer the first question.

[Correspondent, in English] Are you satisfied with the results of the talks?

[Havel] Mr. Bush clearly understands our problems, and certain forms of aid have been promised—for example in his address in the Parliament, which you no doubt heard. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in English] President Havel, could I ask you about the situation in the Soviet Union as you watch it, the tensions we see that Mr. Gorbachev is facing—what concerns do you have about the breakup of the Soviet Union, and how would that effect Central European countries?

[Havel] It is more than obvious that the Soviet Union is currently going through the most extensive and far-reaching change in its history. At the moment, the future set-up of the Soviet Union is not yet clear, but we firmly believe that the changes will take place speedily and, if possible, in a peaceful way without bloodshed, and that individual republics and nations of the Soviet Union will gain the amount of sovereignty and independence demanded by their peoples. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in English] (?Is it your view) that the United States is acting responsibly in the gulf?

[Havel] Czechoslovakia has made it very clear on a number of occasions that it is necessary to resist evil, that it is necessary to resist aggression, because our own history has taught us ample lessons about the consequences of appeasement.

Dear friends, if you do not want the wind to blow us away, you must accept the situation that you can ask only one last question.

[Correspondent, in English] President Havel, do you feel that the gulf situation is taking too much money away from the kind of problems that it could solve in Eastern Europe?

[Havel] I believe that all the resources which are expended on resisting aggression anywhere in the world finally turn to the good for all mankind. Thank you. [passage omitted]

Bush Meets Czech, Slovak Officials

LD1711150390 Prague CTK in English 1407 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—U.S. President George Bush told the Czech side that the transformation of the economy was to a considerable extent dependent on how the country will appear to the foreign partners, Czech National Council (parliament) Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova told CTK today.

After meeting President Bush together with Czech Premier Petr Pithart, Buresova said that foreign countries expect to deal with a stable Czechoslovakia free of any quarrels. She added that after her discussion today with her Slovak colleague Frantisek Miklosko she believes quarrels were unnecessary and that she was convinced of the common future of the Czechs and Slovaks.

President Bush held a meeting at Prague Castle also with Slovak National Council (parliament) Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Miklosko told CTK afterwards that the U.S. President had pointed out that it is important at present for the future of Europe that Czechoslovakia should remain a federal state of two nations—the Czechs and Slovaks, with a united concept and economy. Only in this way can Europe, waiting for new transformations, be entered, Miklosko said.

Vladimir Meciar discussed with President Bush economic contacts between Czechoslovakia and the USA, including possible cooperation between a tri-partite bloc involving Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, and the United States. President Bush said he supported these efforts.

Havel Address Praises U.S. Example

LD1711174890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1502 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel in Wenceslas Square in Prague at wreath-laying ceremony attended by President George Bush—live]

[Text] Dear fellow-citizens: In recent years, and especially the months prior to November last year, most of us probably felt that tension in society was growing quickly, and that the gulf between the world of official declarations and the real world was growing unbelievably deeper. We guessed that things could not continue in that way, and that something had to happen. None of us knew, however, when it would happen or how. None of us knew which drop would cause the cup to overflow, or what snowball would trigger the avalanche. The avalanche was triggered by the students, who decided last year to commemorate Jan Opletal and Internatioal Students' Day with an independent demonstration. What followed is generally well known.

A year has passed, and all of us standing here today feel a little awkward. We know very well everything that still remains to be done, and we are asking ourselves why our common effort is making such difficult progress, whether we underestimated the legacy of the old regime, or overestimated ourselves, whether our common work is being deliberately impeded and spoiled by someone, or whether we are spoiling it ourselves; therefore we quite rightly ask ourselves today why, in a whole year, have we not managed to achieve even what originally appeared to be the easiest thing of all—to examine all the circumstances of last year's massacre and punish its true culprits. Why has historical justice not been allowed to take its full course in a dignified way and by due process of law? Why is our political climate sullied by the poison of demagogy and political, ethnic, and racial intolerance? Why, after the way in which we humanely overthrew the inhuman regime, is crime spiralling?

To each of these and similar questions there exist many different and relevant responses and explanations. However, they do not alter in any way the fundamental fact that dissatisfaction, anxiety, uncertainty, impatience, and disaffection are spreading quickly through our society. This is understandable, and it could even serve a useful purpose, because it is just this kind of impatience that can generate the head of steam that will force social changes to take place more emphatically and more quickly.

Anxiety and impatience in themselves do not cause me great concern. I consider the phenomena that accompany them much worse: hostility, malevolence, envy, slander, and excessive ambitions. It seems to me that our public life is more visibly infected by these phenomena. Are we really a nation that can revive its good features only once every 20 years, and for a few months only? Are we really only a nation that can surrender in silence, and when the patience runs out, all we can do is to compete in muscle talk and mutual accusations? I do not want to believe that in Czech and Slovak souls and in the Czech and Slovak public life, kind wisdom cannot prevail forever.

A few students have appealed to their fellow-citizens to dedicate today's gathering to a kind of a meditation about themselves. Yes, let us try to think about ourselves. Let us try to think about our public life calmly and in the light of our own conscience. Let us try to look at ourselves from a broader, all-mankind point of view, so to speak, and let us try to see what our often provincial and petty behavior looks like to the civilized world. The joyful fact that, namely, today we are being honored by the visit of a representative of the great and freethinking nation, George Bush, President of the United States of America, I consider an impulse for this self-search. [applause and chanting: "Long live Bush"]

More than 200 years ago, that newly created state was in a very similar situation in which we find ourselves today. The new democracy had been subjected to hard tests: the bad financial and economic situation, doubts about the state's international position, and disputes among the individual states of the confederation and among politicians often led to fears about the future and integrity of the country. The adoption of the U.S. Constitution was severely threatened. In the most important political document of that time, the Federalist Papers, Alexander Hamilton assessed the situation as follows:

Among the most serious obstacles facing the adoption of the new constitution, one can easily see an obvious interest of a certain group of people in every state to oppose all changes threatening to limit their power, profit, or the importance of the offices they hold, and the perverted ambitions of another group of people who want to gain benefits from the chaos in the country.

Those lines could also have been written about our country today. Optimism can be drawn from the fact that the United States ovecame its crisis of that time; it has become a stable refuge for democracy for its own citizens and a source of inspiration and hope for those suffering oppression and lack of freedom in other countries.

How did the United States achieve this and how can we achieve it? First, the United States managed to achieve consensus on the fundamental laws of the country and on the U.S. Constitution, which firmly enshrines and to this day protects basic human rights and freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of conviction, freedom of assembly and association, and the freedom to turn to the government with requests and complaints.

Second, they succeeded in convincing their legislators of the need for a strong federal government that retained for itself, however, only the most essential powers needed for the state's sovereignty to function, to ensure the country's defense capability, to defend the international position of the United States as a whole, and to enable fixed and movable assets to be transferred freely throughout the country. It left all other matters to the jurisdiction of the states and the people.

Above all, however, by retaining extensive decentralization of power, the Americans gave free rein to free decisionmaking and creative energy. This decision was an expresson of confidence in the judgement and moral consciousness of the free citizen, an expression of the awareness that the citizen and the state are accountable to one another solely in respect of matters defined by law, an expression of the conviction that the citizens can manage many of their own affairs better than the state. A democratic and prospering America is the result of the efforts of whole generations of free citizens. We have no option but to exert the same effort, to seek out our mistakes in ourselves, and to insist on our freedom without restricting the freedom of others.

Dear friends, a year ago we saw the triumph of the freedom-loving spirit of our people over violence and totalitarianism. I believe that common sense, decency, and tolerance will now prevail in each of us over petty jealousy, selfishness, and intolerance. [applause]

Bush, Havel Address News Conference

LD1711205190 Prague CTK in English 1515 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—President George Bush assured journalists here today that the United States will continue to stand against Iraq's aggression in the Middle East. [passage omitted]

President Havel, when asked if the gulf situation was not diverting money away from investments in Central

Europe, said: "I believe that all resources invested towards countering aggression anywhere in the world eventually benefit the whole world."

Commenting on the situation in Europe, George Bush said the United States did "not want to see Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary off in some kind of no-man's-land" and added that Czechoslovakia's more active role in the European Conference on Security and Cooperation process would contribute to the stability of Europe. [passage omitted]

Asked if a break-up of the Soviet Union could not affect Central Europe, Vaclav Havel said that Czechoslovakia firmly believes that changes there will be quick and peaceful and that its nations will get the measure of autonomy that they are demanding.

President Havel told the press that the future of Europe was covered in his talks with President Bush and their views on this point were similar if not identical.

Bush Leaves for Germany

LD1811094890 Prague CTK in English 0836 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—U.S. President George Bush and his wife Barbara left here this morning for Germany after a 24-hour visit, at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The U.S. President was seen off at the airport by President Havel and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, and other officials.

Havel Terms Visit 'Injection of Hope'

LD1811151290 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said today that "President Bush's visit was a sort of injection for us, which, I believe, strengthened certain hopes."

Summing up President George Bush's 24-hour visit to Prague Saturday in an interview for CTK on Sunday, President Havel said "The President promised us maximum support from the United States in various international financial institutions. There exists also the possibility of direct government support, being discussed in Congress." President Bush said that in his opinion in half or three quarters of a year, the USA counts with offering far more generous support, provided the Persian Gulf crisis ends and a certain economic decline in the USA, caused inter alia by increased oil prices, passes. He also assured Czechoslovakia he did not want Czechoslovakia, Poland or Hungary to get into difficulties and the United States felt responsibility for the future fate of this region.

Havel said he agreed with President Bush that the ideals of American democracy—humanism and the liberty of man—can inspire also Czechoslovak citizens who are tackling economic problems at present.

Havel Comments on Results

LD1811211590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified correspondent on 18 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, a truly historic visit has ended—the first visit by an American president to Czechoslvoakia. This will no doubt increase our international prestige in the world. It should also bring certain economic promises. How do you view the visit from this angle?

[Havel] Naturally, we spoke very extensively about the economic situation and the economic difficulties of our country. The American side was aware of them from earlier talks and from its own sources. The President explained the situation to us. He promised maximum help from the United States and various international financial institutions. There is also a possibility of direct government support which is being discussed in Congress. Of course, the most important thing will then be cooperation with individual firms and businessmen. This appears to be developing well. Some contracts have already been signed. President Bush emphasized that, in his estimate, in about six to nine months, if everything turns out well, if there is an end to the crisis in the Gulf and if the decline in the American economy which took place among other things because of the sharp rise in oil prices, when this is over, he said that then they are expecting to give much more generous support. He assured us many times that he does not want Czechoslovakia or Poland or Hungary to sink under difficulties. The United States feels a certain responsibility for the future of this region.

[Correspondent] In both his speeches, President Bush emphasized what I would call the typical ideals of American democracy—humanism and human liberty, the liberty of man. Do you think that these two things can bring inspiration to our citizens struggling today with economic problems?

[Havel] I think decidedly yes. I myself understood and felt this to be the case. In the end I thanked President Bush. His visit provided a certain injection for us and strengthened some of the hope within us.

[Correspondent] One more question, Mr. President. No one doubts the need for security measures, for strict security measures. Nevertheless, how did you feel speaking behind the bulletproof glass on Wenceslas Square?

[Havel] Well, it was not exactly pleasant being in that cage. Perhaps I should add that we were quite concerned that the public would not understand it, that they would condemn it. On the other hand, we knew that it was necessary. After all, we know about all those who would like to get at President Bush. In the end, it all ended well. I think people understood it, even though it is something new which they had not come across before, all these extensive security measures, and I was pleased that President Bush looked on all the security measures with the same sort of detachment as I myself have to being guarded. When we left the booth, he went among the people. Then we stood on the other platform where there was not any bulletproof glass. He had a certain detachment from it, but his security staff was only doing its duty.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Meciar Confirms Bush Plan To Visit

LD1911001190 Prague CTK in English 1952 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 18 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said today U.S. President George Bush confirmed to him he would visit Slovakia.

Referring to the U.S. President's 24-hour visit to Prague Saturday during which he held talks also with Slovak political representatives, Meciar said on television today that President Bush explained to them he could not visit the Slovak capital in view of his short stay. Meciar said that when he asked the President whether his promise to visit Slovakia stands, George Bush handed him his tie clip bearing the U.S. presidential emblem, telling him to take care of it until he comes to Slovakia to collect it. Meciar added he would be glad if this important visit materialized.

Soviet Transport Plane Crashes in E. Bohemia

LD1711185490 Prague CTK in English 1741 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—A Soviet Aeroflot TU-154 cargo plane, carrying cigarettes on a regular flight from Basle to Moscow, crashed off the runway of a sports airfield near the spa resort of Velichovky, East Bohemia, this afternoon, the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry said today.

The plane sent out a distress call at 15.10 local time and announced there was fire aboard. Prague's Ruzyne airport made preparations for an emergency landing but later lost contact with the plane. The burning plane was extinguished by local firemen's units. Of the six-member crew four persons were taken to hospital. there were no fatal injuries.

A commission to inquire into the crash was appointed by First Deputy Transport Minister Stefan Nemes.

Prompt Payment for Soviet Exports Cancelled

AU1511131290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Nov 90 p 2

[Sylva Minovska report: "A Reciprocal Step; The Czechoslovak Commercial Bank Has Abolished Prompt Payment"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Czechoslovak Commercial Bank has cancelled, in what was a reciprocal move, the general authorization granted to the International Bank in Moscow for the prompt payment of bills for Czechoslovak imports from the USSR.

This means that Soviet commercial partners will no longer be paid promptly for their exports to Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak banks will hand over the documents for the settlement of bills to the [importing] enterprises on the understanding that they will be paid within the agreed deadline, i.e. 14 working days after the Czech or Slovak commercial bank receives the import papers. In practice this means a delay of payment by four to five weeks.

This step was taken in response to the Soviet side's measure of 20 October when it canceled prompt payment and went over to the method of payment by way of documentary collection [dokumentarne inkaso]. To this day the Soviet side has not resumed the original form of payment.

Chemical Crew To Be Sent to Saudi Arabia

LD1611225490 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 16 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government has voiced its consent with the conclusion of an agreement with Saudi Arabia on the activity and conditions of stay of a Czechoslovak military unit on the territory of Saudi Arabia.

It provides for a unit of volunteers to be sent to Saudi Arabia to be involved in chemical and radiation testing and in the removal of consequences in case chemical weapons were used. The agreement says that the unit will be sent at an express request of the Saudi government. Deployment of the unit on the territory of third countries is not permitted without Czechoslovak consent. Saudi Arabia will provide all the services necessary for the unit's life and cover all costs of transport and activity of the unit.

The agreement is based on Saudi acceptance of Czechoslovakia's offer to provide this unit.

The unit consists of 183 volunteers and has been in training for some two months.

South Africa's Botha Makes 'Unscheduled' Stop

MB1711141090 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha has announced that South Africa and Romania are going to establish diplomatic relations at consular level.

Mr. Botha was speaking in Bucharest on the second leg of his Central European tour after a meeting with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. The two countries decided to open consulates as soon as possible.

Mr. Botha also made an uncheduled visit to Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic, en route to Romania. The visit was at the invitation of the International Relations Minister Lijan Mcuazo.

Slovakia, part of the Czechoslovak federation, invited South Africa to establish diplomatic relations at consular level.

Mr. Botha said the invitation was being considered. In the meantime, Slovakia would be served by South African consular officials in Prague as soon as that mission was opened.

Havel Departs for CSCE Summit in Paris

LD1811111190 Prague CTK in English 0916 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel left today for Paris, to attend a three-day meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), beginning on Monday.

The meeting will ratify the treaty on conventional armed forces cuts and is expected to provide a new impulse for East-West cooperation.

Mr Havel is accompanied by Federal Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

Havel Interviewed on Elections, Bush Visit

LD1811162990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1318 GMT 18 Nov 90

["Conversation at Lany" interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified correspondent on 17 November, attended by U.S. President George Bush; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Good afternoon, Mr. President, we are meeting on a truly exceptional day, because today is Saturday 17 November. This is the first anniversary of the November revolution—no doubt you will want to talk about that in detail, but first, as is usual in these conversations, allow me to ask you what you consider to be the key events of the past week. [passage omitted]

Mr. President, next weekend the communal elections are going to be held. You have rightly spoken about the creditable turn-out in the June elections, so how do you think the communal elections will turn out—elections which are of key importance for the people in the different areas of the republic?

[Havel] The communal elections remain, to a certain extent, in the shadow of the elections to parliament. At the time society was enthusiastic about the ideal of the free elections, it was fascinating, all the citizens felt a sort of festive mood and were pleased because they could freely elect whatever candidates they wanted after many decades; but after that enthusiasm and that period of a certain degree of tiredness, depression, and hangover, in the atmosphere which prevails today, there is a slight danger that the communal elections will be seen, particularly because they come so soon just six months after the parliamentary ones, as something less important, something of a formality, something of marginal significance. However I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to all the people not to underestimate the importance of these elections. In their own way they are actually more important than the parliamentary ones, not only because now we are electing the local representatives bodies for four years, but above all because the communal elections should serve to really break down all the foundations on which the totalitarian system stood. [passage omitted]

As far as talks with President Bush are concerned, we spoke about the situation in our country, about all our economic and legislative problems, about the necessity to receive certain aid or assistance from the West, about the West's responsibility, about the danger of a kind of destabilization and chaos in this region, about the danger that these countries could find themselves in some kind of a vacuum in the sphere of policy, security and economy, about the fact that the West has a certain obligation or responsibility to contribute toward turning these countries into firm parts of a some new European set-up in order to fill the vacuum by a system of new agreements and cooperation.

We can also see signs of destabilization in our country, though let us say not in such a strong form as they appear in the Soviet Union.

President Bush was interested in everything when we were travelling in our secure car throughout Prague; he not only tried to wave to every person standing on the pavement but he also showed great interest in Prague, in various buildings, in the headquarters of various organizations, in various things. In fact I have spent almost the whole day with him. He also follows our current situation.

I think that the fact that we were given an opportunity to commemorate the events of last year in the presence of the representative of this big, old, and almost classical democracy gave a special and unexpected taste to today's anniversary. I have to admit that today's experiences filled one again with faith and hope.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, how would you sum up everything you have experienced and we have seen today? How could you sum up the day, perhaps with some kind of impressive playwright's comparison?

[Havel] Yes, I do have a comparison to make. As you know it was a very windy day, and during the inspection at the airport I was afraid that the wind might blow us and the President [Bush] away. However I would like to add that I feel that another wind also blew here today—I would say a wind of hope, a wind of faith in the future, a wind of joy and willingness for further work in building our democracy. Now I have a little surprise. I have the opportunity to ask President Bush, who is sitting here beside me, to say a few words to our listeners as my guest in these "Conversations."

[Bush] [passage omitted]

Governments Discuss Sphere of Competence

AU1411134690 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Ondrej Neff report: "Klaus Is Smiling, Pithart Is Frowning"]

[Text] On Tuesday [13 November] another joint meeting between the governments and parliaments will be held. At this meeting the question of the sphere of competence of the republics and the relation of the republics to the federation should be finally solved. This decision was taken at Saturday's [10 November] part of a weekend meeting in Modra-Harmonia near Bratislava, at which representatives of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement and of the Civic Forum [OF] met with the deputies from the supreme representative bodies and with the members of the federal and national governments.

According to Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the VPN movement, the meeting in Modra-Harmonia intensified the communication between the activists of the movements and their representatives in the governments and in parliament. In connection with the critical situation —surrounding the question of the sphere of competence—that arose after the session of the Federal Government on Thursday [15 November] night, the agenda was fundamentally changed, at least on Saturday. The gloomy faces of the prime ministers in the morning did not augur a friendly meeting. Vaclav Klaus drew exceptional attention. In the lobbies it could be heard that he—having Vladimir Dlouhy's support—was the main culprit responsible for the dramatic development. Through the closed door to the Zornicka recreational building, a report leaked that the original agenda had been completely changed and that participants were exploring ways to solve the situation which seemed insoluble.

The Federal Government formulated its stance on Thursday [8 November] night, after Prime Minister Calfa had returned from the East Slovakia region. From well informed sources we heard that the Federal Government, in fact for the first time, thoroughly examined the draft documents and did not only deal with the issues causing the dispute between national governments. The Federal Government found serious formal and material flaws in those documents. The prime minsters of the national governments met briefly in Luhacovice on Friday [9 November]. "I am fed up," Vladimir Meciar said after the talks and Peter Pithart even accused the Federal Government of being incapable of protecting the interests of the federation.

We can make a list of the sore points between the national governments and the federation only from incomplete information that we have. Prime Minister Meciar indicated that there were six main differences and four less important ones. They pertain to the possibility of seceding from the federation, foreign relations and foreign trade, banking, customs, the subordination of the security to the federal organs and the declaration of martial law. Military questions were not included in the discussion. It seems that both national governments adopted an identical attitude, the only exception perhaps being the language question. The Czech draft includes the right of ethnic minorities to use their language as the official language, which is in contradiction with the recently approved language law in Slovakia.

Negotiations behind the closed door were undoubtedly complicated. This can also be derived from the fact that Minister Klaus postponed his departure for Prerov where he had a meeting with citizens. During a brief meeting with journalists he stressed that it was not necessary to dramatize the situation—and Prime Minister Calfa kept smiling—yet Prime Minister Petr Pithart cast doubts upon the optimistic attitude of the federal officials when he said that not only technical and legislative disagreements were involved. It is impossible to discuss some matters, he said. Tomorrow's meeting will show who was more realistic.

The remaining time of Saturday's [10 November] meeting and the entire Sunday [11 November] meeting in Modra-Harmonia was devoted to the internal problems of the VPN movement. Detailed information will be available to journalists at today's new conference. A process of differentiation has taken place in the VPN movement and in the OF, but this proses is motivated mainly by the attitude toward the questions of national sovereignty. The VPN will have to react to the shifts in the position of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. In this connection we asked Fedor Gal whether he was not afraid of an unfriendly reaction from the side of the KDH which is a coalition partner, since the much important meeting between prime ministers and other important officials had been held exclusively on the soil of the VPN movement. "There is no reason to be afraid," Fedor Gals said without hesitation.

Kanis Asks for Havel's Support on CPCZ Assets

AU1511143290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 90 p 2

["ZA"-signed report: "Kanis Writes to the President"]

[Text] On Monday [12 November] Pavol Kanis, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], sent the following letter to CSFR President Vaclav Havel.

Esteemed Mr. President, I am turning to you in the matter of the submitted draft constitutional law on returning the CPCZ's property to the people of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic [CSFR]. As is known, this draft runs counter to the provisions of Article 9 of the CSFR Constitution [concerning guarantees of the protection of property]. The proposed legislation could create a state of legal uncertainty and call in question, also abroad, the sincerity of the efforts to establish in the CSFR a state based on the rule of law. I am therefore turning to you with the request that you give support to our proposal that the whole matter of the CPCZ's property be dealt with by way of political agreement. The CPCZ wants to be, also in this case, a state-forming party and contribute to a solution of social problems in the spirit of high political culture and national consensus.

Esteemed Mr. President, I assure you as chairman of the CPCZ that I do not regard the social weight of a political party as a question of the size of its property.

[Signed] Respectfully, Pavol Kanis, chairman of the CPCZ.

Communists Protest Property Expropriation Law

LD1711191890 Prague CTK in English 1828 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at a meeting of their Federal Council today, denounced as unconsitutioal the law on the expropriation of Communist Party property.

It was only during the closing stages of debate on the law yesterday in parliament that the group of communist deputies presented a proposal to turn over communist property to the state under the supervision of a parliamentary commission by December 31, 1990. The communists described this proposal as an attempt to resolve the issue constitutionally, on the basis of a political agreement.

The proposal was not accepted for debate, and now the communist claim that the issue of communist property is being used by their opponents to weaken them before next week's local elections and distract the public's attention away from Czechoslovakia's increasing social and economic problems.

The Federal Council of the Communist Party further declared their intent to continue their support for the democratic development of the country, acting in tandem with other groups of the Czechoslovak left to achieve economic reform without a disruption of the economy and without threatening the basic social security of Czechoslovak citizens.

Republican Party, Opponents Engaged in 'Skirmishes'

LD1711203190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Among the crowds that came to welcome the U.S. President, there was also a group of several hundred supporters of the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia-Association for the Republic [Republikanska strana Ceskoslovenska-Sdruzeni pro republiku].

About an hour ago, CTK reported that this group, at the end of their meeting, attempted to march to Narodni Trida [street where students were attacked by police in 1989]. Citizens who do not agree with the views of Miroslv Sladek [Republican Party chairman], however, barricaded their way in 28 October street [Ulice 28 rijna]. Neither side has been willing to back down so far, and both are competing in slogan shouting. There have also been some small physical skirmishes so far.

Poll Shows Popularity of OF, VPN Declines

AU1511135790 Prague CTK in English 0010 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—The number of followers of the Civic Forum (OF) and Public Against Violence (VPN) movements, the winners of the June parliamentary elections, has dropped from 60 percent last February to 38 percent last October, a poll conducted among people over 15 by the Public Opinion Research Institute has shown.

The OF in the Czech lands and the VPN in Slovakia were founded immediately after the November 1989 events which toppled the communist regime as platforms of democratic forces of various leanings.

The poll showed that while in March, 70 percent of people were satisfied with OF and VPN activities at their domiciles in October it was only 56 percent. Figures for workplaces were 52 percent in March against 34 percent in October.

ICFTU on Lack of Czech-Slovak Communication

AU1911152790 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 16 (CTK)—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has sent a letter to Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa expressing surprise at the obvious lack of communication between the Czechoslovak Federal Government and the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS) in matters directly concerning the working people.

ICFTU General Secretary John Vanderveken said in the letter that insufficient communication between the two sides was apparent in such issues as the Bill on Collective Bargaining, the Labor Code and privatization.

Vanderveken said that during his recent talks with Czechoslovak officials he believed he had found understanding for ICFTU's position that a meaningful tripartite dialogue can ensure stability, as well as social and economic progress.

Vanderveken said this was just now very important in the period of tremendous changes the post-communist countries were experiencing as a suspension of the dialogue with the working people could halt the reform process.

Survey Says Economic Reform Is Most Important

AU1511141690 Prague CTK in English 1701 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—According to a sociological research carried out by the group for independent social analysis (AISA) in Czechoslovakia in October, 63 percent of people consider the economic reform the most significant task of today.

People's interest in politics is decreasing, according to the poll's results.

66 percent of Czech and 41 percent of Slovak respondents agree with the extension of private ownership of shops and factories. 41 percent of Czechs and only 28 percent of Slovaks are of the opinion that individuals should take over responsibility for their standard of living, while 33 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 52 percent in the Slovak Republic think that the state should be responsible.

More than 80 percent of Czech and over 60 percent of Slovak respondents voiced the opinion that remuneration should be more differentiated.

The results of the poll proved an alarming reality trends towards discrimination against various nationality and other groups. For example, some 75 percent of Czech and 80 percent of Slovak respondents would not like to have Romanies, 60 percent of Czechs and over 70 percent of Slovaks a person infected with AIDS, over 50 percent of Czechs and 70 percent of Slovaks a homosexual, and around 45 percent and over 50 percent of Slovak respondents Arabs as neighbors.

Havel Receives Student Representatives in Prague

LD1711223290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Republic President Vaclav Havel found time today to receive a delegation of students. At Prague Castle he met with former students who took part in the antifascist demonstration of 17 November 1939, university students prevented from studying following February 1948, and also with representatives of students who took part in the events of 17 November 1989.

Vaclav Havel expressed pleasure at this meeting, emphasizing that for the first time, after so long, we can quite freely and truthfully recall what the free-thinking student spirit has done in our modern history, today on International Students' Day. At the same time he described as very symbolic and uplifting the fact that it was once again students who last year, with their independent demonstration and brave protest against the massacre that took place, awakened a nationwide uprising against the totalitarian system. Vaclav Havel also praised the efforts and attitudes of the students of 1939, and the students who in February 1948 protested against the coup of the day.

Pithart Expresses 'Dismay' at Meciar Remarks

LD1611182290 Prague CTK in English 1614 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 16 (CTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart warned at a Civic Forum press conference today of the problems that would arise if the Slovak Government were to pass a draft version of the power-sharing law that differed significantly from the versions passed already by the Czech and Federal Governments.

As long as the proposals differ from each other only in details, it would not be a tragedy, said Pithart. But if the proposals are totally diferent, the federal parliament, which operates on the principle of majority, would not be able to resolve the differences.

Referring to the three-way negotiations on the issue of power-sharing that concluded Tuesday, Pithart expressed his dismay with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's comment that the outcome was "the greatest tragedy."

Pithart's opinion is that the arrangement of the Czechoslovak state ought to be such that "people are citizens above all and only after that members of a nation or a nationality." He added, "I believe that in a two-part federation based on the principle of nationality there is a constant danger of conflicts and crises."

Czech Government Approves Bill on Education

AU1911151890 Prague CTK in English 1432 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 15 (CTK)—Czech Minister of Education, Youth, and Physical Training Petr Vopenka told journalists here today that the Czech Government approved Wednesday a Bill on State Administration and Autonomy in Educational System.

However, the bill will take effect only after it is discussed and approved by deputies to the Czech National Council (parliament) which is to debate it in December.

If the bill is passed by the Czech parliament, the Czech Ministry of Education will be able to ensure organizationally, materially and financially the elementary and secondary education in the Czech Republic by means of newly established autonomous District School Offices. In case the bill fails to be passed elementary and secondary schools will be financed and materially provided for by state administration bodies (district authorities) and local autonomous bodies (local councils). However, there is a certain danger that local councils would allocate minimal financial means to elementary and secondary schools regardless of the ministry's stand. A number of villages have made it clear already that if the Bill on State Administration and Autonomy in Education System is not passed they will not finance institutes for physically or mentally handicapped children or institutes for delinquent youth.

Rally in Bratislava Marks 'Velvet Revolution'

LD1711192890 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 17 Nov 90

["Some 30,000 Attend Rally in Slovakia"—CTK headline]

[Text] Bratislava Nov 17 (CTK)—A rally marking the first anniversary of the "velvet revolution" took place in Bratislava today, amid manifestations of support for the ruling coalition as well as slogans calling for an independent Slovak state.

Reviewing the developments of the last twelve months deputy of the Slovak parliament Miroslav Dziak-Kosicky said that the struggle for democracy had been won and "now we trample on this democracy". He described banners calling for independent Slovakia as a return back to the 19th century. Supporters of the Slovak national party carried banners of protest, one of them reading "Budapest-Prague, Slovak betrayal".

Ovations and protests also accompanied a speech by Minister of Culture Ladislav Snopko.

Slovak National Party Developments Reported

AU1611093290

[Editorial Report] Several Slovak newspapers (NARODNA OBRODA, VEREJNOST, and SMENA) on 14 November publish items dealing with recent developments within the Slovak National Party [SNS].

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 November on page 2 carries a 150-word "ik"-signed report entitled "Aims of the Democratic Platform in the SNS." The report deals with a news conference given by representatives of the Democratic Platform in the SNS in Bratislava on 13 November, at which they outlined the platform's aims. The report mentions that on 12 November the SNS leadership recalled Vladimir Miskovsky, one of the spokesmen for the platform, from the post of chief editor of the SNS weekly SLOVENSKY NAROD "because he published the program of the Democratic Platform in [the 9 November issue of] NARODNA OBRODA."

A more detailed, 900-word Michal Galat report on the Bratislava news conference is published by Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 14 November on page 2, under the headline "They Are Abandoning Old Practices." According to the VEREJNOST report, V. Miskovsky and M. Janicina, the two representatives of the Democratic Platform who addressed the news conference, said that the platform has "serious reservations about the party leadership" which "has not presented any concepts to the Slovak nation and contents itself with some radical statements and actions." They criticized SNS chairman Vitazoslav Moric for his "radicalism and populism" and for having failed to explain to the SNS voters "what kind of an independent Slovakia the party seeks and what the Slovak nation will gain and what it will lose in an independent Slovakia." At the same time they denied that the platform's aim is to split the party. Rather, the aim is to "replace with quality a certain lack of quality which got hold of power in the party, and maintains its positions thanks to a certain quantitative support." As Galat points out, the Democratic Platform seeks a "constructive and democratically oriented national policy."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 14 November on page 3 carries a 2,500-word interview with Anton Hrnko, deputy to the Slovak National Council for the SNS, by Lubo Lazovy entitled "A Great Many Provocateurs." The place and date of the interview, in which Hrnko identifies himself as a follower of the Democratic Platform in the SNS, are not given.

In the first question, Hrnko is asked about his attitude to SNS Chairman Vitazoslav Moric. He replies that he and Moric met a couple of days ago and that they agreed "not to discuss their relationship in public." At the same time they agreed that the operation of the Democratic Platform would be "legalized" within the SNS and that Hrnko would keep his seat in the Slovak National Council as a deputy for the SNS.

In the bulk of the interview, Hrnko expresses his critical views on the Czechoslovak federation in its past and present form. In this context he says that "today we are bearing witness to mighty and aggressive Czech chauvinism, which is not represented by Czech politicians but, surprisingly, by the federal bureaucracy, the Federal Government, and, in particular, by Vaclav Klaus's wing of the Civic Forum [OF]. It is apparent that the groups of the Czech political spectrum which have taken the lead in the OF are those which represent aggressive Czechoslovakism and whose aim is to put Slovakia into a subordinate position, into the position of someone who is incapable of managing his own economic and political affairs." In the opinion of Hrnko, "if the relations between Czechs and Slovaks are to be lasting and constructive, the minimum solution must be the transformation of their mutual relations into a confederation. Slovakia must become an international legal entity."

Hrnko also rejects the "terrible image of Slovakia and Slovaks created by certain circles in the West as an intolerant, militant, antisemitic, and xenophobic nation which suppresses its minorities." Asked who these circles are, Hrnko says: "Circles which are interested in gaining control over Slovakia. I believe that I do not have to name them. You know, when photographs of the vandalized Jewish cemetery [in Nitra] go around the whole world, including Japan, even before the paint on the swastikas can dry, I will never believe that this was not a perfectly organized provocation."

Romany Civic Initiative Holds News Conference

LD1511223590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Summary] The Romany Civic Initiative (ROI), which was founded a year ago, gave its first news conference in Bratislava today.

Its representatives read the memorandum of the ROI on the preparation of constitution documents on human and civic rights in our country. It says that Romanies should be considered a separate nationality in Czechoslovakia. Their language should have the same position at schools as Hungarian and the languages of other minority nationalities, in addition to proper teaching of Slovak. The ROI wants to make the Romany language into a literary language. It also proposes to have family houses built in Romany settlements, with the help of Romanies themselves, who should produce the building materials as well as work on the construction. In five years they want to do away with all unsuitable gypsy settlements in Slovakia, and leave only one as an open air museum.

With regard to criminality, the representatives of the ROI protested against the use of the word Romany when describing a perpetrator of a criminal deed, when the same thing is not done when crime is committed by a member of different nationality. They see the cause of criminality among gypsies in their low level of education—only one percent of Romanies are skilled workers or have higher education—and in a high rate of unemployment among Romanies.

Romanies in CSFR Seek Status as Nationality

AU1911151790 Prague CTK in English 2131 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 15 (CTK)—The Romany people should be defined in Czechoslovakia's new constitution as a nationality, asserted Emil Scuka, chairperson of the Civic Initiative of Romanies (ROI), in a press conference here today.

"Considering the number of people of Romany ethnicity, it is essential for Romanies to be considered in the context of the multinational Czechoslovak state as a de facto nationality," explained a ROI memorandum handed out to journalists at the press conference. ROI would like their viewpoint to be represented in the constitutional charter on human and civil rights, which is now being prepared.

Scuka also informed reporters that ROI has eight deputies representing them in the legislative bodies of Czechoslovakia.

According to unofficial data, approximately 500,000 Romanies (or Gypsies) live in Slovakia and 300,000 in the Czech Republic giving a total of 800,000 in all of Czechoslovakia. Scuka claimed that there may be as many as 1 million.

Minister Cited on Size of Slovak State Assets

AU1511143590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Nov 90 p 8

[CTK report: "Banska Bystrica: Privatization"]

[Text] At a session in Banska Bystrica yesterday, the Independent Association of Slovak Economists discussed various aspects of privatization and the market mechanism. Problems in the strategy and mechanism of privatization, international experience in this field, the relationship between privatization and reprivatization, the application of private ownership relations in the cooperative sector, as well as social aspects of privatization were discussed. A.M. Huska, Slovak minister for the administration and privatization of national property, told journalists, among other things, that the value of state property in Slovakia amounts to 1.3 trillion korunas, whereas only between 100 and 120 billion korunas are deposited in state savings banks. Moreover, two-thirds of the deposits are already ear-marked. In connection with privatization he underlined that there is greater mutual understanding between the Slovak Republic and Czech Republic governments than with the Federal Government.

Slovak Statistical Data for 1990 Reported

AU1511130590 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 13 Nov 90 p 2

["min"-signed report: "Our Wallets Have Become Thinner"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—According to preliminary data, the decline of industrial production in Slovakia slowed in October. This information, and other results of the development of all economic branches in the Slovak Republic, were reported by Engineer Rudolf Krc, candidate of sciences, chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office, at a news conference yesterday. As he said, gross output in the centrally administered industry declined 3.6 percent compared with the same period last year. Chemical industry, whose production volume dropped 10.3 percent, accounted for the brunt of this decline. The output of chemical and oil-processing enterprises fell 4.4 billion korunas short of last year's volume, chiefly as a result of the crude oil shortage. There has also been a four percent production decline in the engineering complex, caused by continuing problems with the conversion of the arms industry. The glass, ceramics, textile, and printing industries, the production of medical supplies, coal mining, and ferrous metallurgy continued to develop evenly. Labor productivity in industrial branches administered by federal bodies exceeded last year's level by 0.6 percent on aggregate, thanks mainly to labor productivity increases in coal mining, ferrous metallurgy, and general engineering.

There has been an improvement in the procurement of cattle, hogs, and poultry for slaughter, but the situation in the procurement of eggs has not improved and the volume of milk procurement continues to be lower than last year. Increases in retail prices have had a significant impact on accelerated growth of retail trade turnover in the main retailing networks. The aggregate retail price index grew by 9.8 percent in the third quarter of the year, with food prices going up 18.9 percent, prices of nonfood products 10.3 percent, prices in public catering 11.3 percent, and services 10.6 percent [figures as published]. The greatest increases in retail prices, compared with the second quarter of the year, concerned meat, milk, flour and bakery products, potatoes, and potato-based products. Naturally, there were also increases in the cost of meals in restaurants, which went up 11.8 percent, and in the cost of services, transportation, communications, and recreational and social care. Fees in nurseries went up 36.5 percent, kindergarten fees went up 86.3 percent, and the cost of school meals 56.5 percent.

The cost of living index of workers and employees went up 10.4 percent in the third quarter of the year, compared with the second quarter, with their food bill alone going up 24.8 percent. The cost of living index of cooperative and other farmers developed similarly.

It was emphasized at the press conference that the increase in deposits declined in the third quarter of the year, compared with last year. The cost of living index, which is connected with the development of the retail price index, has increased 14.5 percent since the beginning of the year, which would mean an inflation rate of about 20 percent at the year's end.

More than 27,100 unemployed were registered in Slovakia at the end of October, 8,000 more than in September. The rate of unemployment is currently 1.1 percent, compared with two to ten percent in advanced economies. About 11,000 of the unemployed are workers and 1,287 university graduates. The largest number of job seekers from the ranks of school leavers are on record in East Slovakia—over 2,100, 498 of whom are university graduates. The smallest decline in the number of employees has been registered in enterprises subordinated to the Slovak Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

A total of 94,353 private entrepreneurs were registered in Slovakia at the end of October, 68,751 of whom have acquired an identification number [ziskali identifikaciu]. We will not be able to assess the size of the small and private entrepreneurs' production volume before they file their tax returns at the beginning of next year. It has been ascertained even now, however, with the help of family budgets, that national income in this sector amounts to 1 billion korunas. Because the laws on privatization have not yet made an impact, the process of demonopolization and denationalization is still relatively slow. Even so, the number of private enterprises in agriculture has increased to 960 (in the department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to 920), in industry to 747, and in domestic trade to 362.

More than 1,200 licenses for private passenger and freight transportation have been issued. The transformation of the state industrial sector into a private sector does not proceed as would be needed, mainly because of the inversion of industry [inverzia priemyslu], and we will still have to wait for this transformation to show any effect. The energy, fuel, and material intensiveness of production has not declined and electricity consumption has even increased 1.5 percent! [passage omitted]

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 13 November on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report on the above news conference, which provides the following figures on the development of the retail price index in the third quarter of the year—18.9 percent for food products, 3.7 percent for nonfood products, 12.9 percent for public catering, 6.8 percent for services, and 9.8 percent on aggregate. The NARODNA OBRODA report also mentions that real incomes in Slovakia have declined five percent since the beginning of the year and that the decline is expected to reach ten percent by the year's end.]

Defense Minister's Announcement on Arms Reduction

LD1611191290 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 16 Nov 90

["Announcement by the Hungarian Minister of Defence"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—Having taken into account the results of the process of European detene and confidence-building, the changes in the relations of the two blocs, previously in opposition, and the processes inside the Warsaw Treaty, moreover in compliance with the basic principles of Hungarian defence policy, the Government of the Republic of Hungary has decided on the following:

All ground-ground [surface-to-surface] missiles and related appliances, capable of carrying military warheads, are to be scrapped from the arms stockpiles of the Hungarian defence forces, so further promoting the cause of peace in Europe and friendly relations with our neighbours.

The military organizations established in connection with these missiles and appliances are to be abolished or put on to other tasks, with due haste.

The Government of the Republic of Hungary is convinced that this measure of unilateral disarmament will contribute to the creation of good-neighbourly relations, free from suspicion and removing the sense of threat. The measure may also be received favourably by countries coming within range of the missiles—and finally, in wider terms, by the community of Europe at large.

The government thinks that the European process, with what should be its milestone next week with the summit meeting in Paris, can only steam ahead from now on, and bilateral talks be launched on further arms reductions and confidence-building measures.

With this unilateral step, the Hungarian Government anticipates the processes of 1991-1992, thereby hoping to be the catalyst for future talks and perhaps, for steps by other countries in the direction of uniliteral disarmament.

Spokesman on Foreign Military, Economic Relations

LD1611213390 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—Hungarian minister of defence, Lajos Fur, announced a package of unilateral disarmament measures on Hungary's part, in front of Hungarian and foreign journalists in parliament on Friday.

He said the strategic arms to be immediately withdrawn from the stockpiles of the Hungarian defence forces include nine launch pads and their 24 Scud-B Missiles, with a range of 280-300 kilometres, a further 18 launch pads and their 107 Frog-7 missiles with a range of 70-80 kms. These armaments will be destroyed on Hungarian territory. From the peacetime Hungarian defence forces, 3,200 people were responsible for missiles, 900 of them officers and junior officers.

The current costs of maintaining the missile corps are 100 million forints per year, with their related activities requiring an annual 10-15 million forints. These sums will be put on one side from now on. Staff cuts will only affect 800 people, with the others being transferred.

Fur added that this corps was not in possession of nuclear warheads, only having the appliances for carrying them.

At the briefing, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo spoke about minister of international economic relations, Bela Kadar's report at the government's November 15 session on the preparation of an association agreement between the European Communities and Hungary. As a result of talks in Budapest, on 18-19 September, and in Brussels, on 16-17 October, the EC Council is expected to discuss on December 4 whether it will authorize the commission of the European Communities to start talks with Hungary concerning the details of association.

President of the EC Commission, Jacques Delors, addressed a letter to Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on October 31, for the first time giving a written statement in which he agreed on a realistic Hungarian schedule for the association process, with the aim of Hungary becoming an associated member of the EC from January 1, 1992 onwards.

The government has authorized Bela Kadar to start talks with the Soviet partners on next year's trade agreements. A decision will have to be made on how Hungary can make use of its surplus of 1,200 million roubles accumulated in the past two years.

Kadar will probably sign a separate agreement on economic and technical co-operation with the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, and also with other republics, if necessary.

The government acknowledged the report of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) according to which remittances to be processed in forints but without covering payments of roubles have been sent from the Soviet Union on behalf of Soviet citizens, who have resettled or are staying in Hungary indefinitely. On the strength of a government decision, the NBH will pay remittances of up to 500,000 forints for individuals and up to 2 million forints for families until December 31, 1991. The total costs will reach 1,200 million forints.

The government accepted the proposals for the amendment of the civil code, including the suggestion that the status of the state as a special legal entity be abolished.

Deputy state secretary of the ministry of justice, Laszlo Kecskes said that the proposal suggests legislators establish a new organization under the name of "judicial directorate of the exchequer" to represent the state in court.

The government decreed to break the monopoly of the postal service in newspaper distribution and radiotelephone installment when the new postal act is passed.

Balasz Laszlo also said that the government's extra additional session on November 17, Saturday, would deal with the three-year economic programme, the 1991 state budget, the draft of the 1991 company and budget wage regulation, and questions of employment.

Missile Decision Called 'Political Gesture'

LD1611194290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Interview with Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] At today's briefing by the government spokesman, Defense Minister Lajos Fur announced that for the purpose of promoting European peace and a good relationship with our neighbors which is free of suspicion, surface-to-surface missiles capable of conveying warheads of mass destruction will be immediately dismantled from the units of the Hungarian Army.

Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti explains this. He replied to questions from our editor:

[Reporter] Does the announcement have military significance or political significance?

[Keleti] Both, of course, but I give priority to the political significance. Because the Hungarian Government has spoken now with very great respect about the agreement expected in Paris, and although it values this agreement very highly, it has made a political gesture because it is the unilateral reduction of a weapon-type which does not figure at the Vienna talks or at the signing ceremony expected in Paris next week.

[Reporter] Can we learn how many surface-to-surface missiles we had?

[Keleti] Strictly speaking, we had 27 launch platforms and 131 missiles.

[Reporter] People are interested in whether Hungary's defense might not weaken at such a time.

[Keleti] Not the defense of Hungary, because as I have said these are offensive weapons. In my view, the government is devoting special attention so that there exists the system of means appropriate for the Army's defense capability within the Army—for the independent military doctrine, which will, of course, take shape later, but the outlines of which are now appearing....

[Reporter, interrupting] Which is a defense doctrine....

[Keleti] ...and this is expressly a defense doctrine. We are preparing not for offense, but for the defense of our country's sovereignty and security, and exemplary decisions and disarmament resolutions of this type hopefully will elicit a reaction in neighbouring countries.

Foreign Affairs Committee Discusses Warsaw Pact

LD1511020590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] The deputies dealing with our country's foreign affairs heard the report on the withdrawal of the Soviet soldiers. I just remind our dear viewers that yesterday we reported the leaving for home of the last Soviet units in Dunantul [Transdanubium].

[Correspondent] The other main subject of the Foreign Affairs Committee was the Warsaw Pact—namely, what the government had done in the interest of the implementation of the parliamentary decision that Hungary leave the organization. The answer of the diplomats present was: By now we have managed to withdraw the entire Hungarian foreign policy from the radius of the Warsaw Pact. One, of course, should not ignore the significant change of the all-European situation, stressed Tamas Katona, state secretary. It is, however, a fact that the stand regarding the terminating of the organization, which in the summer was represented by Hungary only, today is accepted by other countries, too.

About the defense aspects of the issue Lieutenant General Antal Annus has said that the Hungarian Army can be used only on the basis of the Hungarian constitution. The military organization of the Warsaw Pact has practically ended. True, the united forces' headquarters do still exist, though even if it did give a command there would not be anybody to follow it out. This organization will also legally cease from 1 January and by 1 July of next year the full military dismantling will be accomplished. Thus the Warsaw Pact, as we heard, is in the state of clinical death.

NATO's Woerner Discusses Upcoming Visit

LD1511193990 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Brussels, November 15 (MTI)—I am greatly looking forward to my visit to Hungary. My sympathy for the country, which I am to visit for the first time, goes back quite a few years, said Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO, concerning his visit scheduled to begin on Thursday, November 22. As part of the lead-up to the visit, the secretary general gave separate interviews to the Brussels corespondents of Hungarian press.

Mr. Woerner said he expects to hold profound discussions with Hungarian leaders in Budapest on the future of European security. As a delegate of NATO, he is setting about delivering a message of friendship to the

Hungarians, as well as opening a new stage in cooperation between the Atlantic Treaty and Hungary.

Answering a question from MTI's correspondent as to whether some form of institutional rapport, even participation, could come about between Hungary and NATO, the secretary general stressed: As with the other countries of the region, diplomatic relations with Hungary have already emerged, Hungary has appointed an ambassador to NATO; its high-ranking politicians, including Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, have visited NATO, in this case, the first politician from the region; and there will be relations on the military front as well. "I believe that through these relations, and the increasingly close exchanges of views and information, we will be able to realize what we term a 'partnership in security'," Mr. Woerner said.

How can NATO contribute to the security of the East-Central European region was MTI's next question. Mr Woerner said: "NATO is definitely a stabilizing factor. In the past, it was able to safeguard the security of its member states, and was an essential, probably the most essential factor in keeping the peace, by means of a deterrent. I believe this role will remain intact in the future. Naturally, we can only guarantee the security of our member states, but we can contribute to deterring the use of all sorts of military force against any East-Central European country.

"On the other hand, the economic stability of the countries in the region is also in the interest of NATO. The organization is not an economic oranization, therefore, assistance to the East-Central European countries is not provided by NATO itself, but its member states, or economic organization, such as the European communities, and so on. The Atlantic Treaty encourages them in this."

In answer to the changes that can be expected in NATO in view of the developments in the international situation, the secretary general noted: "NATO is increasingly progressing from the role of a military organization to a political one, from opposition to cooperation, from guaranteeing peace to building peace. Instead of acting as a deterrent against an immediate threat, it is increasingly placing emphasis on guarantees against risks. The military strategy is being [words indistinct] new climate, and is based on smaller, more mobile units, mobilizable reserves. NATO will change the concept of advanced defence, reduce the number of nuclear weapons, and deploy these only as a last resort."

As for his expectations of the Paris summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the secretary general said: "This is an extremely important step in the creation of the future structure of Europe. Institutionalization of the Helsinki Process creates a basis for the closer cooperation of the European states, and comes to embody the core of a new, unified Europe, contributing to the prevention, or peaceful settlement of conflicts."

At the same time, Mr Woerner stressed that NATO will continue to have a major role, as it is the sole collective defence organization that can guarantee security in the event of a crisis and clash. The European security and cooperation process cannot act as its substitute, as it is through its integrated military organization that the Atlantic Treaty holds the keys of security, and through NATO that the community of interests of the nations of North America and Western Europe are represented, the NATO secretary general said in his interview with MTI.

Government Delegation Leaves for CSCE Meeting

LD1811164390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Excerpts] The government delegation led by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has left for the French capital, where they are to take part in the summit of the countries of the Helsinki agreement. [passage omitted] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will deliver his speech on Tuesday morning.

General Discusses Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1811213190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Andras Gellert report]

[Text] General Antal Annus presented a report on the Soviet troop withdrawal to parliament this week. Following this, the Soviet ambassador expressed the view that the Hungarian negotiating partners are trying to blame the lack of progress in negotiations about withdrawal on the Soviet partners. This statement also appeared in the Hungarian press. We asked the General his view on the position taken by the Soviet ambassador. The reporter is Andras Gellert.

[Gellert] First of all, General Antal Annus denied the supposition that disputes over the financial demands mean that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is not taking place according to plans.

[Begin Annus recording] There are serious disputes and differencs of opinion over property rights and financial questions. We demand compensation from the Soviet partners for the damages resulting from neglect of the maintanence and renewals, which would have been obligatory under the leasing agreements, and to jointly assess the environmental pollution and the damages arising from this. [end recording]

[Gellert] The Soviet partner, however, as they said in their statement, does not want anything but the refund of money invested; this amounts to 50 billion forints. They also referred to the suggestion they made at the final stages of the negotiations on troop withdrawal, that the sums demanded for military bases could be compensated for by the Hungarian partners, through the creation of joint venture companies.

[Begin Annus recording] The Soviet partner handed over a list, which included the buildings about which they had ideas for joint venture companies. We asked the Soviet partners, on the basis of the list, to provide us with detailed economic information which will be examined by Hungarian economic experts. The Hungarian partners look favorably at these proposals, but we have not yet received this information. [end recording]

Denies Blame for Slow Withdrawal

LD1811231490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Excerpts] "You have tried unilaterally to place the responsibility on the Soviet side for the lack of success of the talks connected with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops," said the Soviet Embassy in its statement reacting to the way Antal Annus briefed the Foreign Affairs Committee in parliament. The general asked to reply to this, and while he said that the technical part of the troop withdrawl is proceeding according to the agreement, there are disputes and differences of views in property rights and financial issues. General Antal Annus is before the camera and the microphone of "Newsreel". [passage omitted]

[Annus] General Burlakov held out the prospect that he would have several buildings dismantled if we do not repay the expenditures spent on these. I replied in a telegram, and also in a letter. I told General Burlakov that they must not do this, because, on the one hand, it is contrary to the agreements. On the other hand, it will drastically devalue the demands of the Soviet side.

The Soviet side says it wants to get back its expenditures. In my opinion, it will hardly be able to get back all expenditures, for the simple reason that not every building erected with the expenditures can be used economically. If a thing can not be utilized, then let it be seen that this is at the risk of the Soviet side. They ought to bear this.

The Soviet side has said that the Soviet Union is interested in a rapid solution, expressing the interests of both sides. Accordingly, we must insist on this consistently, because the way to an agreement leads through the reciprocal interests being considered.

Goncz Comments on Visits to Japan, South Korea

LD1811234890 Budapest MTI in English 1731 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, returned form his Far Eastern trip on Sunday afternoon.

Speaking to journalists on his arrival at the airport, Goncz said that in his experience both Japan and South Korea are countries where the thousand years old culture culture and national identity harmoniously combine with the latest technology.

He stressed that the Hungarian delegation had been received with distinguished friendship and respect in both countries, and went on to say:

"Besides attending the inaguration ceremony of the Japanese Emperor in Tokyo, we held talks with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, mainly about possibilities for Japanese investments in Hungary. We also met several businessmen, and although no concrete transaction was concluded, the interest of economic experts towards our country was noticeable.

"The South Korean negotiating partners showed particular interest in Hungary's position on Korean unification and the country's UN membership. We met President No Tae-u on two occasions. The Seoul talks resulted in an agreement on mutual customs allowances, which is expected to facilitate Hungarian agricultural exports to South Korea and, on long term, bring favourable changes in the trade balance dominated by a South Korean surplus for years," Arpad Goncz said.

Questioned on Korea Visit

LD1811235990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by unidentified reporter at De Gaulle Airport in Paris on 18 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] [passage omitted] We are now at Paris' De Gaulle Airport, where President Arpad Goncz has arrived after a 22-hour flight.

[Goncz] [passage omitted] My impression is that the Japanese premier even preempted us in one or two things.

[Reporter] What do you mean?

[Goncz] Well, first of all, they will try to find—and in my opinion they will find—the means of easing our problems which are connected with our supply difficulties as a result of the gulf crisis.

[Reporter] What about Korea?

[Goncz] The first thing that struck me is how much the whole of Seoul politics, the politics of the Korean Republic, appreciate the numerous openings of the Hungarian Republic, and before that of the Hungarian People's Republic, openings that helped introduce the Korean Republic's so-called northern policy. Many questions were asked about why Hungary did this. My standpoint is that we did what we did not to gain an enemy, in the case of North Korea, but because we wanted to gain a friend in South Korea. It became absolutely clear that with the means at our disposal we are willing to help the Korean Republic in those objectives which completely coincide politically with our own intentions, including the elimination of regional conflicts. In the East Asian conflict, the most serious aspect is that the two halves of the country are not yet united. We wish with all our hearts that the unification will take place in a peaceful way.

[Reporter] Excuse me, but if we are talking about unification here, many questions were asked at the international news conference. My impression is that history repeats itself. In the case of Korea—in the case of the two Koreas—nearly the same thing is taking place as what took place in the case of the two Germanys. A certain opening role was waiting for us; or rather, we fulfilled an opening role.

[Goncz] Yes, this struck me as well.

[Reporter] Is it possible that this opening role will in some way earn gratitude, or can we hope for gratitude?

[Goncz] We will assess that once we have gotten that far. The emotional cover for what we are doing is given. We felt, and they made us feel every minute of our stay, how greatly they appreciate it, just as they also highly appreciate our intention to support their admission to the United Nations. In view of what they have done, we feel that their request for admission is entirely justified, in view of the fact that they have satisfied every political precondition. [passage omitted]

Romania's Iliescu Refuses To Meet Goncz in Dec

LD1611231390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Arpad Goncz's proposal to hold a Hungarian-Romanian summit in mid-December does not suit the Romanian president. This was stated by Imre Szokai, state secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after his negotiations in Bucharest. He said that he had presented the Hungarian president's message to head of state Iliescu.

Imre Szokai also held negotiations in the Romanian Foreign Ministry, where they again failed to narrow stances on the fundamental issues. On the other hand, it is a sign progress that agreement has been concluded about the opening of the Hungarian House of Culture in Bucharest.

Summing up his negotiations, the Hungarian state secretary for foreign affairs expressed the view that the principal line of division is not the stance of Hungary and Romania, but in the difference between the more important European processes and the views of the Romanian leadership.

Newspaper Disputes Romanian Report on RMDSZ

AU1411103390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Nov 90 p 2

[Tibor Bogdan report: "ROMANIA MARE: The Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania Should Be Eliminated!"]

[Text] The Romanian daily "ROMANIA MARE" [Great Romania] has offered its readers hair-raising, new fabrications. According to the reports, the Hungarians living in Romania have established their own secret service and interior ministry. Both institutions are allegedly guided by the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]—this "terrorist organization that serves as a spearhead for revisionist attacks from Hungary"—to bring about the secession of Transylvania from Romania. The aforementioned daily says that its sources are confidential.

According to the infamous newspaper, the center of the alleged secret service is in Csikszereda [Miercurea Ciuc], but the organization "naturally also has well-trained bases in Kovaszna County and in Bucharest."

"ROMANIA MARE" goes on to say that "the agents of the aforementioned organization have infiltrated various enterprises, cultural organizations, party and state institutions, and political groupings in Transylvania, and they have also gotten hold of most of the media. The Hungarian priests have also sold themselves."

"The Hungarian young people in Romania are guided by the Democratic Association of Hungarian Youth in Romania, an organization that is led by the RMDSZ, and the RMDSZ receives orders from Hungary, a country which carries out the orders of the United States."

"The RMDSZ has modern electronic installations which it receives from abroad like video cameras, computers, microphones, radio installations, and telex machines; the aforementioned organization has also recruited the telephone exchange workers who regularly intercept the telephone conversations of Romanians who are on the black list of this organization."

"ROMANIA MARE" demands "the immediate elimination of the RMDSZ by means of a legal decision, because the RMDSZ threatens the existence of the Romanian national state, and the leaders of the RMDSZ should be deported from Romania. If all this fails to materialize, there is no other possibility but to turn to the Army and to guns. The Romanians must finally understand that their country is in mortal danger."

Jeszensky Denies Anti-CSFR Radio Remarks

AU1411144090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky by Tibor Ferko; place and date not given: "Apropos Equal Norms for All"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Following statements made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky at the time of the Hungarian Republic's acceptance into the Council of Europe, our correspondent telephoned him and asked him to clarify distorted reports and his own actual points of view.

[Ferko] On 6 November you stated on the Radio Kossuth Esti Kronika program that when you were in Rome you submitted an objection to the Slovak language law because it does not correspond to the Council of Europe's generally valid norms. You also said that the acceptance of other Eastern European states will apparently convey a guarantee for the ethnic minorities living on their territory. Do you have specific reservations against the language law? As far as the aforementioned guarantee is concerned, does this also relate—in connection with the acceptance of Hungary—to your country, or do you think that everything is in order here?

[Jeszensky] Because you have already mentioned the problem of the language law, I think it was a really bad step; however, that is your affair. I am expressing my own personal opinion. I would not like to make a statement to the Slovak press about this issue at the moment.

[Ferko] When you say that this is your own personal opinion, did you discuss this in your speech at the Rome meeting or in an interview for journalists?

[Jeszensky] I did not discuss the Slovak language law in any of my speeches. If the Hungarian press has commented on this, then I am unable to say anything about it. At that time, I held discussions with many people, but I do not know that I said anything special to Esti Kronika. It is not good when the opinion of another person is published based on hearsay. When I was in Rome, I expressed very positive opinions about our neighbors and I emphasized that Hungary supports their acceptance. What I did not mention, however—although this does not apply to Czechoslovakia in particular—was that Hungary had been very comprehensively and thoroughly scrutinized prior to its acceptance into the Council of Europe. If the situation of the ethnic minorities living in Hungary was considered, this is a matter for a commission and the legal norms which this European organization implements in such matters.

[Ferko] In MAGYAR HIRLAP on 8 November you expressed your desire to represent the interests of those Eastern European states which have not yet been accepted into the Council of Europe. Do you think—judging by what you said—that the awareness of such a need is enough for this; or that, without consulting the countries involved, this idea alone is enough?

[Jeszensky] Do not be angry, but you have incorrectly quoted my reply. Such a suggestion crops up in the question, but not in the answer. I think I made it quite clear that we do not want to do anything on behalf of others, but—in the name of our old and common interests—we can represent you in a corresponding manner until your acceptance is implemented. The very fact that there are grave economic problems in our states has prompted me to do this. I gave serious consideration to this matter. It is necessary to respond to the fact that Western states are not very well oriented toward our problems so that, once again, it is a common endeavor to get them to appreciate our difficulties. I would be very sad if the completely opposite impression was gained in a neighboring country about our good intentions. I held talks with Minister Jiri Dienstbier who accepted our points of view very favorably. Are you familiar with the speech I delivered in Rome?

[Ferko] No, I am not.

[Jeszensky] Mr. Herman, our ministry's spokesman, will give it to you and I recommend that you publish it in your newspaper.

[Ferko] Thank you for the offer and I suggest that you familiarize yourself with the aforementioned radio program. Forgive me Mr. Minister that, instead of offering congratulations, I had to ask you such unpleasant questions.

Extraordinary Congress of Slovak Minority Examined

AU1411155290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with Mrs. Jakab Robert, chairwoman of the Association of Slovaks in Hungary, by Peter Matyuc on 10 November; place not given: "The Cry for Help of a Diminishing National Group"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] On 9 and 10 November, the Association of Slovaks in Hungary [MSZSZ] held an extraordinary congress. Some 200 delegates discussed the situation, future, and tasks of Slovaks in Hungary. At the end of the two-day congress, we asked parliamentary representative Mrs. Jakab Robert, former general secretary and current chairwoman of the MSZSZ, about the meeting.

[Matyuc] Why was there a need for an extraordinary congress?

[Robert] We do not want the Slovak population in Hungary to die out. During the past months, the change of political and social regime has prompted us to find our place in this new situation. Our major problem is whether there is anyone at all who hears the cry for help of a diminishing national group. Although there are no exact figures—for that, we will have to wait for the results of the 1990 census—the Slovak population in Hungary is definitely decreasing. It is not known how the education authorities want to solve problems related to the Slovak-language school network, nor has the form of cooperation with our motherland been clarified yet; indeed, the five-year cultural agreement between our two countries will expire at the end of 1990.

[Matyuc] How does the MSZSZ try to master these problems?

[Robert] Our congress urged the creation of a national network for the protection of interests, a network which would operate within the framework of a constitutional state. The legal aspects of this network have not yet been clarified; so far, we only have plans: We want to create a national self-governing body which represents the interests of Slovaks in Hungary, and which coordinates the activities of local organizations.

[Matyuc] How many organizations does the MSZSZ have?

[Robert] Since February 1990, 31 organizations have been established in villages and towns inhabited by Slovaks. That is still only one-third of the 104 Slovak communities in Hungary.

[Matyuc] Three other Slovak organizations do not acknowledge the legitimacy of the MSZSZ. What is your opinion on that?

[Robert] It is true that some people—including the representative of the Free Slovak Organization—do not see the MSZSZ as legitimate, but a sweeping majority of the delegates at our congress agreed with operations within the framework of the MSZSZ.

[Matyuc] Until yesterday, you were the general secretary of the MSZSZ. Following the change of leadership, do you feel that your members are satisfied with the old leadership?

[Robert] The local organizations elected the representatives that took part in the reshuffle in a democratic and secret election. The delegates reelected me, and the chairman of honor and one of the deputy chairmen also came from the ranks of the old leadership. All this shows that the Slovaks trust us.

Deputy Foreign Minister Queried on Politics

AU1311135390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 90 p 6

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokia by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk; place and date not given: "A Question of Perception"]

[Excerpts] [Kolodziejczyk] One expected the political changes in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland to bring the three countries closer together and permit honest cooperation and mutual assistance, especially because our problems and experiences are so similar. Almost a year has gone by, however, since these changes, and there has still been no breakthrough in our relations. Talks between the deputy foreign ministers of these three countries were recently held in Warsaw (17 October). Do you think they forecast better times ahead?

[Szokai] Hungary is doing all it can to bring about a new kind of cooperation among the countries in our part of Europe. For this purpose, it is essential to establish what issues the countries of Central Europe can tackle together and what issues they must each solve separately so that their participation in the European unification process may be full. Of course, each of these countries decides for itself what it wants to do. Consultations are required before we can decide what to do together. Another reason that consultations are needed is to establish the best ways of using the aid which the developed countries of Europe intend to give our region. It is important to be able to solve our regional problems on our own. That would be the best possible illustration of our readiness to take part in European integration.

True, there are many matters we did not manage to discuss in Warsaw, but the thing that counts is that we decided to appoint a special consultative commission to support our efforts and show us how to use the chances for cooperation that already exist. One example is communications. Our experts should decide whether the situation in our countries permits the construction of a north-south freeway. Another issue is environmental protection. We really have a lot to do here. [passage omitted]

[Kolodziejczyk] Old conflicts about borders and ethnic minorities are flaring up at the same time as the democratic changes in Central and Eastern Europe. They make our mutual relations more difficult. How does Hungary intend to resolve these problems?

[Szokai] We have to completely change our way of looking at these problems. We know that the old doctrine whereby socialism would automatically solve them was wrong, but not even the most democratic system will do so either. What we need most of all is trust. Our cooperation will never succeed without it.

One way to build trust is to strengthen mutual contacts. We have already suggested several forms of cooperation so that our borders can assume a symbolic rather than a physical meaning.

Poland is experiencing a difficult time today, but I would not say that it is isolated. If there are any restrictions to future travel, then it not visas, but a lack of money. A lack of money can slow down tourist traffic. I see no other obstacles. In these matters too we have certain proposals which we will be able to communicate to the Poles soon.

[Kolodziejczyk] Local government elections took place in Hungary recently. Will the outcome affect government foreign policy?

[Szokai] Hungarian foreign policy enjoys the support of all the parties in parliament, which does not mean it is never discussed. But I do not think there is any political force in Hungary that questions the foreign policy of our prime minister, Jozsef Antall.

New 'Civic Movement for the Republic' Established

LD1611200690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] The Civic Movement for the Republic [Polgari Mozgalom a Koztarsasagert] was founded today. Peter Szorenyi explains what exactly it is.

[Szorenyi] Honorable citizens, unite! Freedom of speech even in mass communication! Let us start the system—transformation again! These sentences are quoted from the 20-point founding statement of a new civic movement. I say "new civic movement" because those present have not been able to agree on a name yet. In any case, the so-called Hungarian Center Alliance [Magyar Centrum Szovetseg] assisted at the founding. On behalf of this party Csaba Varga, former People's Party politician, spoke in front of the approximately 100 people who had assembled. In his view a civic movement of this kind, for example for the republic, is needed because, I quote, "The country could easily turn upside down." The trouble is greater than it was three years ago. This is why real countrymen who can lead our country are needed. Csaba Varga closed his speech by saying that the tree of the bourgeois system must be planted, but who exactly would be the ones who plant this tree?

Ferenc Kitzinger, social democratic politician, and Csaba Vass, who was a member of the Patriotic People's Front before the elections, also spoke this afternoon. In any case, it seems to the correspondent that the parties and politicians who have been left out of parliament are trying to move back into public life; nevertheless, this movement does not want to become a party. For the sake of stabilization; however, it wants to support the government.

Finally, I have to mention one person's name who has not come despite an invitation. We did not see Imre Pozsgay here in the former educational center of the former Hungarian Socialsit Workers' Party in Villanyi Road.

Intelligence Official Queried on Surveillances

AU1611105890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Intelligence Official Peter Boross by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "No Ministerial Conversations Have Been Tapped—I Can Do Nothing About Obsessions"]

[Text] [Vajda] You are supervising the intelligence services and, according to reports, the III/III Department—or at least its data—is alive and well. According to the report of one of our sister newspapers, the activity of the center in Rona Street in Budapest increased during the taxi drivers' blockade. Is it possible that these services were gathering information at the time?

[Boross] The collection of data in question is a collection of police data which allows the registration of crimes according to their types and their perpetrators.

[Vajda] At the same time, the same information also serves the National Security Office....

[Boross] Yes, it does. Of course, this collection of data also provides priority information on terrorist, counterintelligence, and constitution defense matters. One can also receive information about weapons ownership. I looked into the matter and I found out that the National Security Office had not requested more data during the taxi drivers' blockade than at other times. One has to take into consideration that the blockade was against the law and violated certain constitutional rights. The important thing, however, is that the government announced that it did not have any intention to institute sanctions, and it has been keeping this promise. In connection with this issue, I would like to point out that the incidence of anonymous information on certain affairs leaking from the police seems to be gaining ground. We should stop the deterioration in public morale, and this occurrence does not help us in this endeavor. We should strive for a consensus and only attack the government when it really deserves it. Witnessing the current practice, one might even wonder whether an anonymous informant really exists at all.

[Vajda] Does the electronic collection of data in question really include the results of the activity of the III/III Department and the list of their agents?

[Boross] I would not exclude the possibility that concrete affairs and names are to be found in that collection of data. What can we do with these names, however, if we are unable to clearly determine whether this list is genuine or not and whether this can be proved or not? Under such conditions, I do not even intend to initiate an investigation in this matter. The Hungarian Parliament is the competent body to decide on this. My personal opinion is that, no matter what rumors are circulating about various lists and names, one must take into consideration that we are talking about the fate of various people, and, in such cases, one can only decide when one is certain about something. A central list of names does not give us such certainty, if hand-written reports are not there. One might be lucky and not be on the list, although he could be there, while another person might be unlucky and be on the list. This is why I continue to oppose the publication of names of the III/III Department. It would be better to fail to learn about 100 people that they were agents, rather than have five innocent people on such a list.

[Vajda] Is something like this possible? Is it possible that some people manipulated the documents of the III/III Department with blank cards?

[Boross] If we consider that the possibility for this existed, that these people knew that there was an impending change in the regime, and that various interests were connected with all this, then there is no reason why such a manipulation could not really happen.

[Vajda] Mr. Boross, you have been criticized for the way in which you made the decisions on dismissing people. These decisions were allegedly arbitrary and illogical.

[Boross] I will not make public the way in which I carried out selection in our organization. My task was to create a democratic intelligence organization suitable for a parliamentary state, an organization which enjoys public trust. Besides, it is human on the part of a dismissed person to feel that the decision is unjust.

[Vajda] Did you decide personally on dismissing personnel?

[Boross] Yes, by carefully studying people's careers and concepts and by using all the social and legal means at our disposal to help those who had to leave.

[Vajda] Has this restructuring been completed?

[Boross] Concerning the government, the reorganization of the intelligence services has been concluded. Obviously, some changes might still be necessary, because some units will no longer be needed, and smaller units will also suffice; in other cases, the organization has to be strengthened. For example, the threat of terrorism has slightly increased compared with the situation a few years ago.

[Vajda] Why?

[Boross] A country which transports refugees and immigrants is taking a certain risk, the risk of attacks from people who frantically oppose this.

[Vajda] Speaking about terrorists, a CSFR deputy interior minister told a U.S. journalist that Carlos had met with a leading Arab terrorist here in Budapest a few weeks ago. The journalist in question told us about all this. Is that possible?

[Boross] Hopefully, this rumor about Carlos' visiting Hungary is not true. If I were in a similar situation and heard that Carlos was in the CSFR, I would certainly call up somebody in Prague immediately. Hungarian counterintelligence has not received any official report from Prague, and our experts think that such a visit is out of the question. I do not think that Carlos is so dumb as to come to this country where millions of people regularly saw his picture on the television and in the newspapers a couple of months ago.

[Vajda] You announced recently that you had reprimanded the head of the intelligence services in connection with the Foltanyi affair. What details can you add?

[Boross] I have repeatedly given strict orders to the department heads to refrain from any party connections. The police investigation aimed at clarifying the case has been given a green light.

[Vajda] Are you aware of the fact that, on the day of the accident, the car carrying Foltanyi and the driver met with a patrolling police car and Foltanyi asked the policemen to stop patrolling the area and assist him in reaching Bem Square? Are you also aware of the fact that the patrolling car carried this out after asking permission from the center?

[Boross] No, I did not know these details; however, the police investigation will also clarify this. One should not disregard the fact that the person driving the car was not one of the national heads or the deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, but a young party activist, a very sick young man.

[Vajda] Mr. Boross, some Hungarian leaders are very concerned about having their conversations tapped, and they also express their fear.

[Boross] We are conducting an investigation into this matter. We have not found a single listening device anywhere. This is a rather complex technical matter, so the country cannot be full of such bugs. I can do nothing about obsessions, and I cannot understand fear that resembles a situation comedy.

I consider hysterics to be harmful. We have a lot of things to worry about as it is, so we should not artificially create new things to worry about. Everyone should be responsible for public calm.

[Vajda] No listening devices were found, but microphones appeared with which they could also listen to our conversation here in Kossuth Square.

[Boross] I made inquiries about these microphones and I learned that ornithologists can use them in silent forests when listening to birds, but hardly here, in the noise of Kossuth Square.

Biro Leaves Hungarian Democratic Forum

LD1511051490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Zoltan Biro, founder and Presidium member, has left the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. The politician informed the MDF Presidium of his decision in a letter.

Industry Minister Comments on Current 'Crisis'

AU1611110690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Nov 90 p 9

[Interview with Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod by Ilona Kocsi on 12 November; place not given: "Crisis Management—Without any Means"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod is optimistic. He is convinced that industry, which is struggling through its most difficult years, will survive the crisis, and he hopes that a determining role will also be given to him in this not so simple task. He is confident that the acceleration of the privatization process, which has already become a slogan these days, will still be guided by common sense and business initiative, and he hopes that the era of intensive political debates will now be followed by economic years. Peter Akos Bod does not look like a tired and insecure man. During our talks on Monday 12 November, Bod did not tell me—perhaps he did not even know about it—that his name had been mentioned as a prospective leader of a new overall economics ministry, in case of a government reshuffle. In our interview, we discussed the various problems facing industry.

[Kocsi] According to many people, industrial performance has been alarming this year. Although exports for convertible currencies have risen, the sector is marked by a general relapse. That is not only true of the areas that have been the victims of cuts, but also of our so-called leading branches.... Thus, the coming years hold the promise of crisis and bankruptcy.

[Bod] Hungarian industry has its most difficult year behind it, and probably also before it; however, the decrease in production is not a bad thing in itself. That was what we wanted. For a long time, we have been wanting to free ourselves of weak, poor quality, mass production goods. This process has actually begun as a result of the decrease in CEMA trade. If something has decreased, I would not say that it was the leading branches; more precisely, in the context of former exaggerated scales, they are definitely not leading branches. In large-scale industry, we can expect a 17 percent decrease this year which is adequate in a healthy readjustment process. Personally, I am not worried by this decrease; I am more worried by what will come next. Will it be possible to recover from the crisis before the healthy and developable part of industry also collapses?.... [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] You are going to use diplomatic economic means in order to pave the way for Hungarian exports, and thus you hope to stabilize production. Does the Ministry of Industry and Trade have other means at its disposal to accelerate a solving of the crisis?

[Bod] We have no means at all to implement necessary structural changes. As a researcher, I used to welcome the fact that financial means were withdrawn from the ministries that directed enterprises. In the meantime, however, these sectoral ministries have increasingly turned into economic directive ministries, yet they still do not dispose of any financial means to manage the crisis. We have no money to manage one or two enterprises. The real problem, of course, is not that the Ministry of Industry does not have any funds for this purpose, but rather that a systematic solution has not been found for this problem in the whole Hungarian economy.

[Kocsi] I hope that you are not wishing back the era of direct intervention.

[Bod] Of course not! However, it hurts privatize enterprises that are making a loss at the moment. These enterprises should be put right first, and then their market value would greatly increase. As loss-making enterprises, however, they can only be sold at a loss. All we would require would be a financial institution specialized in this area, which would pay for the outstanding losses in forints, put the enterprise in some kind of order, and thereafter, the weak forints would be worth a lot more hard currency. It simply hurts me to see how otherwise viable Hungarian enterprises which deserve a better fate go to ground like this, only because there is no investment capital in this country which could put them right. If we convert to dollar accounts with the CEMA countries and the Soviet Union, these enterprises could enjoy serious business potential. At the moment, however, they are struggling with losses and payment difficulties; with a little bit of financial help they could save their market positions. I know that in the current anti-intervention atmosphere, it does not go down too well if someone wants to conduct a micro-industrial policy. Personally, however, I think that it is equally detrimental and strange that we have absolutely no means at our disposal to direct structural changes. Privatization does not belong in the government structure that has developed; furthermore, we do not dispose of any funds for technical development. At the most, my ministry is in charge of staff questions, it can make use of diplomatic economic approaches, and it can pamper investors. In such a situation, it sounds strange when many people think that we increasingly interfere in the lives of enterprises. [passage omitted]

Correction to Pozsgay on Political Beliefs

LD1611173990

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Pozsgay Discusses Political Beliefs," published in the 14 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 27.

Page 30, column two, last paragraph, first sentence, make read: We do not deny that an enormous European integration process, with an international scope of movement containing great possibilities, is in the making. (supplying omitted words and rewording for clarity)

Walesa Not To Involve Himself in Strikes

LD1711174790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Democracy, and not Walesa, takes part in strikes, the Solidarity chairman said today at a meeting in Ursus. Look what is happening in the union around us. When also asked about privatization at a meeting in the Technical University, he said he was for it, but first additional jobs have to be created—particularly for people in large enterprises. Above all one should see the individual, and not a mine, factory, or machines. The enterprise and management are for the employees, and never the other way around.

When asked about unemployment, he retorted that he would not accept that there was any unemployment. Look at our towns—at how much work there is to do. The idea of participation is to stop complaining and take everything into your own hands. We know how to trade; we are capable of working well in the West because the situation forced us to do. Now in this terrible post-communist era, we must find an owner for our economy.

Walesa Leads Mazowiecki in Poll Results

AU1911132490 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 16 November (PAP)—The latest poll conducted by the TV-run Public Opinion Research Center polling center (November 12-13) shows that 35 percent of respondents who will take part in the presidential elections would cast their vote for Lech Walesa (41 percent a week earlier), 19 percent would vote for Tadeusz Mazowiecki (23 percent), 17 percent for Stanislaw Tyminski (8 percent), 7 percent for Roman Bartoszcze (4 percent), 5 percent for Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz (7 percent), 2 percent for Leszek Moczulski (2 percent).

Like week ago, 15 percent of the respondents who said they would vote were still undecided as to who they would support for president.

Walesa Foresees 'Hell' if Not Elected President

LD1611195990 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—"If I lose (the presidential elections) I foresee hell in Poland because the reform has failed," stated presidential hopeful Lech Walesa in an interview for the POLITYKA weekly. Excerpts:

"I cannot enter the ranks of loyal opposition considering that I do not agree with the concept of reform carried out this way, considering that I should blame someone for lack of acceleration for which I have asked. In this case my opposition would have to head towards turning things upside down and this I cannot afford to do because the social costs would have been too high.

"Formulating programs today is simply making jokes out of the voters. I hold that politicians are playing a game if today they announce programs knowing that they are unrealistic anyway until the time parliament determines the president's powers. When I say this I encounter accusations that I have no program, that I am boastful and so on.

"The president should only by the regulator, someone who watches over the whole, listens to what society wants, draws the attention of parliamentarians to what is good and what is bad. Not enforcing anything. At most just advising parliament how to act wisely. And this is how I see my role...indeed, I would like to introduce decrees but not presidential or government decrees but those to be passed by an authoritative group of parliament. And all of this to lead Poland through the terrible stumbling blocks lying ahead of us."

"There is no doubt that Pilsudski (prewar Polish leader) was a master of his era. Would he be one today, I do not know. Today we have a different time, a different era. Matters must be resolved in a different way."

"...If we speak about disrespectful behaviour towards Sejm deputies, I have witnessed something like that in the way the government of my rival referred to deputies who were among the striking farmers at the Ministry of Agriculture. They were thrown out by force, using the militia. Without going into whether these deputies were right or not—they probably were not—but they should not be treated this way. For my part, I proved, both in Slupsk and Mawa, that I am capable of convincing people peacefully. I am not afraid of democracy, I am not afraid of crowds...I am by no means boastful: I come from the masses, from the people and that is why I will manage while Mazowiecki will not. He is the prime minister, he has his ministers, he has his ambassadors, he plans on becoming president and appointing his prime minister. An explosive mixture...

"No one helps me, I fight by myself. And I do gather tens of thousands during rallies. Frequently they come to topple me, to mock me. Various people, some anarchists but I can handle them...so that is proof that I do not give anything and I win. If one is able to show understanding to Polish society, there is no danger.

"I would like to enfranchise Poles and until I do this, I can sell neither land nor factories to others...I am not misleading foreign businessmen, I just do not want the manager to sell a factory on his own: because I am afraid that they will cheat me, cheat us, that they will loot Poland.

"I did not want him (Mazowiecki) to run because I did not want us to fight it out. Today I assume I will win 59-60 percent of votes. I will probably not stand to a run-off because I need broad social support."

Walesa Interviewed on Campaign Decisions, Reforms

LD1711212490 Warsaw PAP in English 1752 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—Following are excerpts of an extensive interview for the ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily granted by Solidarity leader and presidential candidate Lech Walesa:

Q: When did you really make the decision? (to run for president). And do you rather want to or have to become president?

A: I never aimed at any pose, this was not the goal of my life...I wanted to reform Poland and did everything to this end...we are just beginning, we are starting to build a new system after the old was toppled. I have a duty to bring about free elections, I made a commitment to do this. And now to fulfill this commitment, I must become president.

Q: What concrete qualifications and skills should a candidate for the highest state post have?

A: A president should know a lot of things, know life not only from books. He should stand above parties, know how to stand above divisions, not be guided by bias towards people and have a strong will to serve Poland.

Q: At times one gets the impression that you hold it against other contenders that they dared to enter the presidential race in the first place. Would you prefer to be the only contender? You call for divisions, for pluralism and afterwards it turns out that this was not the kind of pluralism you had in mind, that the divisions should be according to how Lech Walesa sees them.

A: You read too much of the "GAZETA WYBORCZA." I did not want for one candidate to run for president and that is why I broke up the unity which hampered the development of democracy. There is no one "superbloc" called Solidarity. Various groups and people were forced to take stands. This is a step towards Europe. I entered the presidential race as one of the contenders. It is just a shame I have to run against Tadeusz Mazowiecki to whom I proposed and still propose maintaining the post of prime minister. It seems to me that this is rather that camp that holds it against me that I am running.

Q: Your campaign is impressive in its dynamics and scope. You are winning over masses of supporters. Are their number by chance not too high? Are you not promising everything to everyone and many a time these promises contradict themselves, exclude themselves totally. They could turn out to be unsecured checks.

A: Tell me specifically where and whom I promised something. I have another goal: to arouse as much [as received] people as possible and to encourage them to engage in the reform so that things are not like in Hungary where only a dozen-so percent of people took part in the elections and the rest did not care. To stir up people I must tell them: the power in your region, factory and street belongs to you. What you will have depends on you.

(...) Poland can be changed only through common activity. And surely not static waiting for the government to carry out the reforms. The government also must be helped, including through criticism. We cannot depart from the main direction in which the economy is heading, charted out by Balcerowicz, there is no other way. But we can only help ourselves alone. Too many expectations were pinned of friendship with the West. This concept of reofrm would have worked fully had the West engaged to a greater extent. But it did not and moreover communism has collapsed. The means which were to be directed to us, are used to prop up the Soviet Union. So that it does not fall apart too suddenly and crush us with its ruins.

Q: Why are you accused of anti-Semitism?

A: I know that there is a bit of anti-Semitism in Poland and I regret this. But the greater the distance from Poland, the bigger the problem. Articles full of indignation appear in great weeklies in New York, in Israel they speak about this at the Knesset and I presume that in Australia, sorry if I am offending anyone, some disoriented man could presume that Poland's main problem is anti- Semitism and that is why they have the crisis there. Politicians use this slogan to discredit me. For the immediate goals of the electoral campaign they sow a seed which bears poisoned fruit.

The elections will enter history, the global community will come to terms with the democratic choice of the Poles.

Liberal-Democratic Congress Supports Walesa

LD1511213190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] At a new conference organized by the Liberal-Democratic Congress, representatives stated that they support Lech Walesa's candidacy in the presidential elections.

Mazowiecki To Resign if He Loses Election

LD1811234790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] Tadeusz Mazowiecki met trade unionists of Bydgoszcz today.

[Begin recording] [People heard singing "Live a hundred years"]

[Mazowiecki] Will political changes influence the attitude of the Western world of finance toward us? They already have a negative effect. That means that symptoms of a certain destabilization have slowed the influx of Western capital and reduced the interest in Poland by the Western world of finance. That is why I beleive that stabilization is the only way to restore confidence in investing in Poland.

An alternative to not reaching the Belweder [presidential residence] at this point is a big test of Polish democracy: Will the one who is defeated for office submit himself to the certain rules of democracy, or will he attempt to undermine them by nondemocratic and nonparliamentary means, appealing to nonparliamentary forces? If I lose the election, as the prime minister I would first tender the government's resignation into the new president's hands immediately after he has been sworn in. Second, I see my role in the opposition, in the democratic system. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tadeusz Mazowiecki also visited Torun.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure and satisfaction to meet you here in Torun, because when we talk about business and about attracting business, we always have foreign business in mind, as if we do not notice that our own Polish business also existed. This is a very important phenomenon. I think that it is also very important to pass quickly from various initiatives counting upon a quick profit to initiatives of solid and long-term commercial or industrial activity. Only then will the Polish business world gain importance, and become a factor, the traditions of which we have just recalled here. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Discusses Treaty, Walesa, Elections

LD1711211490 Warsaw PAP in English 1732 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—Today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily carries extensive interviews with Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa. Following are the excerpts of the interview granted by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Q: Mr. Premier, last week you won a great success. A Polish-German border treaty was signed. Do you also assess it in this way?

A: I think that this is, first of all, a success of the Polish nation and also a success of the German nation that we could overcome the problems of the past and turn towards the future. It is also a success of the two governments. I certainly regard it very important that the government I lead could reach this goal.

Q: We have signed joint declarations with Russia and the Ukraine. Does it mean the opening of a new Polish eastern policy?

A: It is the beginning of a new kind of mutual relations with individual republics as well as with the USSR as a whole which will probably take the form of a federation.

Q: In Western Europe, economic reforms carried out by your cabinet are assessed positively. How do you assess the state of our contacts with the West and the possibilities of obtaining assistance for economic reforms in Poland?

A: (...) I think that external manifestations are a significant proof of a high opinion about Polish reforms. Also our consistency in the implementation of these reforms is greatly respected. We have also taken important steps to associate with European structures.

Q: People make enormous sacrifices for the reforms. Till last spring they were making those sacrifices and your popularity continued to grow. They are ready to make the sacrifices also now, but aren't they determined by faster pace of changes?

A: While loudly criticising the government programme, my opponents from Lech Walesa's camp in fact approve of the programme which we have presented and which we are implementing. They just keep saying: We shall do it better, but at the same time they are trying to present this programme as their own, and something utterly new. It is hard to say that this is a fair play.

The second charge against me has recently appeared in statements made by Lech Walesa who claims that I have divided Solidarity. I have to reject this charge. I am not the author of the concept of "the war at the top." I showed a lot of restraint and feared the division. This was in fact an interlude to the main question.

It is not true that the pace of changes has allegedly been slowed down. But the difficulties related to the process of overcoming inflation are still very painful. We are still in the first phase of the movement and there is no recipe for accelerating this process. The most important things are to overcome recession and (to embark on) broad-based privatization. And here, the progress is very large. There have already been tangible and visible effects. More are bound to come.

Q: We know your programme. If you win the elections you will carry it on. What will happen if you lose? Will you become the leader of the opposition and go on fighting?

A: If I lose, then after the swearing in of a new president I shall file a resignation of the government and my political position will be defined by this situation, i.e. as a member of the opposition.

Q: Do you want to win or also to defeat Lech Walesa?

A: The victory over Lech Walesa as Lech Walesa will not give me any pleasure. I want to defend a certain model of democracy in Poland. This is the direction in which Poland can move to win a chance for herself and a chance in Europe.

Mazowiecki's Foreign Policy 'Mistakes' Examined

LD1611051190

[Editorial report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2000 GMT on 15 November carries the "Election Studio" program with sections presenting Roman Bartoszcze, Stanislaw Tyminski, Leszek Moczulski, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki; Lech Walesa's portion is presented last. An unidentified announcer introduces Walesa's section: "Yesterday evening, Lech Walesa met FRG Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher." An unidentified speaker says: "A border treaty was signed with Germany. In the circumstances, we ought also to remind you of the mistakes—probably no one could have made as many mistakes this year as Prime Minister Mazowiecki. Nearly all our neighbors have been antagonized: the Germans, because President von Weizsacker's visit was not prepared properly; because during his visit to Germany, Prime Minister Mazowiecki did a curious thing for a statesman, namely, he suggested what ought to be written into the Constitution of the unified Germany when he spoke about the border amendment. This caused indignation.

"The Lithuanians have been antagonized through the cowardly failure to recognize their sovereignty. Recently, it was the Belorussians, when we demanded their recognition of the legality of the treaty signed by the Soviet Union and Poland, therefore, recognition of their occupation.

"Next, new shocks await us. Hints are coming in from Western Europe, for the moment delicate ones, that Eastern Europe should form a sort of currency union with the Soviet Union, that it should take upon itself part of their inflation. The West fears destabilization. We are to be the shock absorber. I think Mazowiecki is too soft in this matter. He might surrender. I also think Walesa will be better."

Mazowiecki Election Committee Protests TV Bias

LD1911095590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 19 Nov 90

[Text] A protest has been lodged by the National Election Committee of Tadeusz Mazowiecki regarding the manner in which the election campaign has been presented in the television news.

A particularly blatant example of biased practices, we read in the protest, is the fact that on 18 November—in the main edition of the Television News, there was no mention of the pre-election rallies of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Bydgoszcz and Torun. No mention was made, either, of meetings with the regional authorities and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity activists in Bydgoszcvz, or with representatives of the milieu of private enterprises in Torun.

Candidate Tyminski Accuses Government of Cheating

LD1711212790 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Zakopane, Nov. 17—Independent presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski accused Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government of betraying the nation and announced he would publish materials justifying this soon, during an electoral meeting in Zakopane, southern Poland, today.

"Recession and inflation are higher by a half than is officially announced. Cheating the nation is possible because independent press does not exist. The most beautiful pearls of our economy, plants of tremendous value are being sold to foreign capital for one-twentieth of the price," Tyminski said.

Tyminski spoke out against the policy of reprivatization, stating this was a sell-out of national assets to foreign capital. He added that Poland today was threatened not from the East but from the West.

Jaruzelski Signs Two Amended Land Laws

LD1411233190 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—On November 8 the Sejm (lower house) amended the law on acquisition of land by foreigners with 169 votes for, 66 against and 26 abstentions. The Senate considered the law and voiced no reservations to it.

The amended law introduces the obligation to submit permissions for purchasing land by foreigners from the state, communal districts and individuals to an annual parliamentary supervision.

This provision is the Sejm's response to the president's motion to reconsider the amendment law on land management of September 29, 1990.

The law of November 8, 1990 meets the proposals included in the president's motion.

Considering the solution adopted by the Sejm an act of positive response to the presidential veto, Wojciech Jaruzelski signed today the two amended laws, namely on land management of September 29, 1990 and on acquisition of land by foreigners of November 8, 1990.

Trade Unions Discuss Impact of Privatization

LD1411221190 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Representatives of trade union organizations from some 200 of the biggest factories in Poland and the chairmen of the national federations affiliated in the OPZZ [All-Poland Trade Union Alliance] held a meeting in Warsaw today to discuss the impact of privatization and ownership transformations on the living standard of the crews.

In response to the unionists' questions and doubts, Minister of Ownership Transformations Waldemar Kuczynski stated in part:

—There is no alternative to privatization and a market economy.

—Poland can join Western Europe provided it can create economic structures similar to those in the EC by the end of this deciade.

—Privatization must be tied with the process of economic restructuring. Nonetheless, this requires modern forms of management, technologies and most of all capital. I am not against employee shares but relying only on this model would protract the privatization process for decades.

—Potential investors are afraid of political destabilization and a resurgence of inflation. The wage expansion noted since this July has raised the threat of inflation returning. If we do not maintain the stability of the zloty's exchange rate and prices, our country will be omitted by foreign capital.

Balcerowicz Interviewed on Economic Reform

LD1611214890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1850 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Just recently, pay demands from various social groups have surfaced with increasing regularity. Mr. Minister, some people say that it is time to relax financial rigors.

[Balcerowicz] Yes, that is true. We are seeing an intensification in pay pressures within various professional groups, but I must also add that they arise precisely at a moment when our changing economy must face new and serious external obstacles, such as the increase in fuel prices as a result of the conflict in the Persian Gulf; such as the general collapse of the economic systems in countries of our region, tied to which is the need for a difficult shift to new principles of trade with these countries. I must also add that such phenomena are surfacing following several months of quite considerable pay increases, which contributed to a [word indistinct] increase in their value in real terms. At the same time, should this continue, the danger exists of a faster rise in prices than before, a signal of which is the rise in prices in October. This is a signal which we must react to.

[Correspondent] So what are the conclusions?

[Balcerowicz] Above all, I think that the first conclusion is...[changes thought] one of these actions is an increase in the interest rate by the Polish National Bank, the aim of which, above all, is to maintain strong incentives for saving in zlotys. This, of course, must influence the rate of interest on credits, since the banking system could not function otherwise. Next, we cannot make exceptions as regards pay policy, as regards the whole pay mechanism. That is because we know that this would lead to a pay race between various professional groups, and, as a result, to a rise in prices, which would squander the brief advantages achieved by some of these groups during the first period and in the first instance. I also think that enterprises, and the people within them who make decisions, should draw important conclusions. In a few months, in the near future, the position of these people, these work forces, will depend on the decisions currently being taken in these enterprises. The main issue is whether they will exploit, maintain, the often quite considerable reserves which exist within these enterprises, in order to face this difficult, initial period next year; also, in order not to reduce their competitiveness in the domestic and foreign markets through an increase in costs dictated by excessive pay increases, and tied to this, price increases.

It is also a question of not ending up with the phenomenon of speculating on the basis of anticipated pay mechanisms for next year, in the erroneous belief that, within the framework of these mechanisms, the higher the level of wages at present, the better the point of departure. That is not how it will be, and this type of action could worsen rather than improve the point of departure, worsen it because, as I have said, this leads to the consumption of essential financial reserves. It also leads to...[changes thought] within the framework of current legislative solutions, it is possible to use up the pay quota neat year, whereas if it is used up now, these possibilities will not exist.

[Correspondent] All right, then what are the prospects for our economy?

[Balcerowicz] I would like to say that, within conditions of general economic crisis in our part of Europe, Poland is the country which, thanks to the stance taken by the public, took the lead, as we know, in very difficult but essential economic transformations. It is also the country which, up to now, has proved capable of learning from the mistakes of others, from the mistakes of countries which were moving out of high inflation, and the basic mistake which they made was a premature retreat from the chosen road, in conditions where the goal was already close, and the costs had already been borne. It is extremely important that this mistake should not be made. I think that the talks which the government will shortly conduct with trade union federations will contribute to this. I hope they will contribute to our being able to quickly continue the economic transformations, without losing the things in our economy which we have achieved with such difficulty.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview.

Consumer Prices Rise 5.7 Percent in Oct

LD1511235290 Warsaw PAP in English 2044 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—The State Statistical Preparation Office (GUS) reported today that consumer prices rose by 5.7 percent in October, as compared to those of September.

Food prices were up 5.1 percent, alcoholic beverages by 3.3 percent, non-food consumer goods by 6.3 percent, and services by 6.4 percent.

Defense Chief Comments on Army, Pact Issues

LD1511234690 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—"In light of the nearing of the end of the cold war in Europe, Poland's military doctrine is taking on a decisively defensive character," National Defence Minister, Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk stated during a press conference today.

The Polish Army will number 305 thousand soldiers. Under the doctrine being worked out presently, this number should fall to 230-250 thousand people (in 1988 the Polish Army had a manpower of over 400 thousand soldiers).

The conference was also attended by: Chief of Staff General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk and Vice Ministers of Defence Bronislaw Komorowski and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Kolodziejczyk announced that the Polish Army currently had 94 generals and that this number would fall to 88 in the beginning of the new year (in 1984 there were 188 generals). Today there are 2.5 thousand soldiers per one general (2.2 thousand in Germany, 2 thousand in the U.S., 769 in Italy). Last year 44 percent of commanding posts in the Army were taken over by new people.

According to estimates by specialized institutions in the West, per capita defence expenditures in Poland in 1988 amounted to slightly below 40 dollars, while in Germany they totalled 634 dollars, Britain—602, Czechoslovakia—188.

Kolodziejczyk stressed that although in the formal sense Warsaw Treaty structures still existed, Poland de facto remains a neutral state. Onyszkiewicz added that there probably would be two blocs in Europe in the future: on the one hand NATO, on the other the USSR and states linked to it militarily. Poland does not plan to join either of the two because this would make it impossible for her to pursue a policy of "equal closeness."

Onyszkiewicz recalled the joint proposal of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to do away with the united command and headquarters of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The only function which the organization would fulfil is one of consultation but not coordination. No one know how long such a state of affairs will last. It is also now known how long the Warsaw Treaty will last. This depends on many factors, including the creation of an all- European security system.

The change in the doctrine dictates a change in the structure and model of the Army, Stelmaszuk said, adding: Poland should have an army which for 10-12 years could receive sufficient "support" from the Polish economy. The Army's defense capability is sufficient today but is deteriorating with every year.

Stelmaszuk announced that the future model of the Army guaranteeing the integrity of all borders, including the eastern border, would be based on four military districts (previously 3): Pomeranian, Silesian, Mazurian and Malkopolska. In case of war each district would field its own army.

The general also spoke about plans to redeploy more units to the eastern part of Poland. This however depends to a large degree on the financial situation of the Army (a permanent relocation of one mechanized division cost one trillion zlotys in 1988).

The newsmen also learned that:

—Poland is waiting for a reply to its request for military equipment from the former East German Army,

—It is considering sources of military hardware and equipment other than the to-date ones (e.g. from Austria),

—33 percent of the Army is made up of career soldiers and this number is to reach 50 percent,

—Kolodziejczyk personally opposes possible Polish military engagement in the Persian Gulf conflict, as long as it is outside U.N. auspices,

—The presidential elections will be a test of the apolitical character of the Army. Komorowski stated that it was in the interest of democracy not turn the Army into a field of political campaigning. It was agreed with the campaigning staff of the two major contenders that the soldiers would not be targeted as possible voters.

Municipal Transport Strike Continues in Cities

LD1611103290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Municipal transportation workers have gone on strike in some Polish cities. There were no buses or tramcars on the streets of Lodz between 0400 and 0600. In Krakow, the strike by municipal transportation workers enters its fourth day. In Gdansk trams were running only for half an hour, but in Gdynia and Sopot there was work as usual because the workers decided in a referendum not to go on strike.

2 New Independent Lvov Radio Stations Registered

LD1611230490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Two independent radio stations, the Bell of St. George and the Free Word from the Ukraine, have been registerd today in Lvov. These are stations of the Greek Catholic Church. They will broadcast programs on religious life and about events in the region to the eastern regions of the Ukraine and to European countries.

Ambassador Kashlev on Polish-Soviet Relations

AU1411093890 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-11 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to Poland Yuriy Kashlev by Jerzy Domanski; place and date not given: "Partners"]

[Text] [Domanski] The visit of Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was a notable event in Polish-Soviet relations. As a representative of the Soviet leadership you accompanied the Polish delegation to Moscow, Kiev, and Minsk. You also attended the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. The Polish press carried many differing reports of the results of this visit. What is your view on the outcome of the talks?

[Kashlev] I was present at all the talks and consider this visit to be a historical landmark. The significance of the visit does not stem from the fact that this was the first official Moscow visit of a Polish minister of foreign affairs during the period in office of a new Polish Government led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The most important element is that during the visit both sides showed a great deal of interest in the affairs of the other. The visit underlines the fact that Poland and the USSR still remain the most important partner for one another.

In our dynamic, troubled times, when everything is changing, Poland and the Soviet Union showed that their mutual relations are good and based on good-neighborly relations. This confirms the preceding Jaruzelski-Gorbachev declaration and the declarations made during the visit of Prime Minister Mazowiecki in Moscow.

[Domanski] In what way did this visit differ from preceding visits?

[Kashlev] On the issue of protocol, by the very high official level of the meetings. I cannot remember a visit where any visiting minister was received at such a level as was Minister Skubiszewski. Mikhail Gorbachev accorded him one hour and 20 minutes of talks in between his other pressing commitments. The Soviet president showed a high level of knowledge of Polish internal political and economic issues. Mikhail Gorbachev is very interested in the economic reform program and put many questions on this issue. Minister Skubiszewski replied that he was no expert, but according to me, he answered very competently indeed. The Soviet Union is currently undergoing a very similar pre-market process to that which Poland went through earlier this year and there were many questions on this particular problem. Mikhail Gorbachev is very interested in the development of normal and good-neighborly relations with Poland. A relationship between good neighbors, without any ideological ballast.

[Domanski] The Polish minister of foreign affairs also visited the Ukraine, Belorussia, and met with Russian leaders. What is your view on this completely new element in diplomatic relations?

[Kashlev] This was the most distinctive feature of the visit, namely, not just the meetings at interstate level with Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and the Supreme Soviet, but also the establishment of contacts with the Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian Supreme Councils and the Russian, the Ukrainian, and Belorussian prime ministers. For the first time in our relations we had a two-level visit and the Soviet Union sees nothing in this which is contrary to its interests. The republics have proclaimed their sovereignty. As an aside, this right was guaranteed to them both in their own constitutions, as well as in the USSR Constitution, but until perestroyka they did not avail themselves of these rights. Now, for the first time conditions are favorable for this. Given a situation where the republics are assuming responsibility for many economic matters, it is natural that Poland is the first to renew contacts with our center as well as establish contacts with the individual republics with which it shares a common border. This is absolutely normal and that is why Poland has played a pioneering role. Poland is the only country in the world which has a common border with Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. That is why direct contacts are absolutely normal. The economic links are very strong. However, I would like to say that one should not "try to rush things," because within the Soviet Union there is still no all-union treaty and some functions will be reserved for the center and some for the republics. In a few months everything will become clear. Nevertheless, we view the Polish-Soviet communique, the declarations with Russia and the Ukraine, and the communique with Belorussia, as positive and we can only hope that matters will progress further.

[Domanski] Mr. Ambassador, Poland has many agreements with the Soviet Union and these agreements are valid and binding. The contacts with the republics, although they are very interesting, are also accompanied by fears that they may revive nationalisms. We are hearing of Lithuanian and Ukrainian territorial claims against Poland. More recently, there have been other claims.

[Kashlev] I will be candid, if Poland—and all the statements made by Mazowiecki and Skubiszewski seem to confirm this—sincerely desires to maintain good-neighborly relations with its great Eastern neighbor (taking into account our present situation), our large

Eastern family, with all its component relatives and cousins, then we are genuinely glad. Sometimes, one hears the view in Warsaw that Poland has two neighbors, namely, the one in the West who is getting stronger, and the one in the East, who was mighty, but is now waning. This view maintains that it would be better for Poland if this large family in the East were to start feuding among itself and split. Thus, instead of one united family, there would be many feuding relatives. If there are people who believe in this view, and additionally, are helping to ensure that this actually happens, then they are making a grave historical geopolitical mistake. A historical mistake of such magnitude that in the past has led Poland to tragedy. I believe that it would be in Poland's interest to have a united, democratic, friendly, and flourishing single family. One could say, a Gorbachev-type confederation. In a feuding family, somebody could become a nationalist, initially anti-Russian, but later possibly anti-Polish. In other countries, in small fragmented republics, nationalist tendencies cannot be excluded. Nationalism could spring up anywhere. The "Balkanization" of Eastern Europe would be a political mistake. One must not permit it to happen.

[Domanski] Many Poles, mindful of the lessons of history, are anxious that the USSR is trying to secure rapprochement with Germany at Poland's expense.

[Kashlev] The Soviet Union is acting and cooperating with all European countries. This does not mean that the maintenance of relations with one country is at the expense of another. As regards the relationship on the Moscow-Warsaw-Bonn axis, judging from the declarations and the practical steps of each country in this triangle, every country is interested in securing good and beneficial neighborly relations with one another. The implementation of these desires in practice will depend on each partner, including Poland.

Recalling the recent "two-plus-four" talks, I would like to emphasize that it was the Soviet Union which was the most active and effective supporter of Polish interests, especially on the issue of Polish borders. We were your best and most determined ally. As far as I am aware, the Polish side is fully satisfied by the outcome. There is no basis on which to assume that in other issues the Soviet Union will act differently.

[Domanski] Mr. Ambassador, world politics decide the future of our contacts, but the ordinary man in the street is interested in other matters; contacts between people, economic cooperation, and tourism. We have been hearing about regular incidents at border crossings and on several occasions you have protested strongly to your country's authorities.

[Kashlev] I very much regret that these things sometimes happen at border crossings. However, without resolving the economic problems, I fear we shall not be able to do very much. Here, I am thinking about price disparities. In the Soviet Union we live somewhat poorly, I must admit. Given such conditions, it is impossible to stop illegal trading, smuggling, and so forth. As market conditions improve in the Soviet Union and in Poland, we shall have normal contacts. We shall trade, we shall bargain, but there will not be these incidents on the borders; incidents such as crashing through the barriers and so forth. To change the situation we need to implement a whole program. Economic measures such as tariffs, taxes, and the opening up of new crossing points. We are considering various measures, because we have to eliminate this sore point between us.

[Domanski] Mr. Ambassador, a theme that often crops up in our mutual relations is the future of Soviet troops in Poland.

[Kashlev] This problem was also discussed during Minister Skubiszewski's visit. A decision has been made to begin talks on this issue in November. The dates for the talks were agreed in the note that Minister Skubiszewski gave me to convey to the Soviet Government. Minister Shevardnadze stated that there were no political barriers hindering the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. However, there are technical and military problems to be considered. Our forces have a special status here. There are not that many of them—less than 50,000—but they play a special role. Even from the basis of their composition they have to be regarded as somewhat special. They ensure communications between 370,000 of our troops in Germany and the fatherland. It is hard to convince generals that there can be a distance of some 1,000 km between the fatherland and NATO troops that is not secured by our own troops. Military men are simply unable to comprehend this. That is why from the technical and military aspects there may be difficulties with deadlines and the tempo of withdrawal. Withdrawing our armies from Poland is difficult for us financially and technically. Because of the nature of the troops, we shall need to have approximately 10,000 dwellings. To this number has to be added another 100,000 dwellings for the troops withdrawn from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and so forth. We hope that our Polish friends will understand these difficulties, considering that these troops came to Poland in different circumstances than those in which they came to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They are stationed on former German territories that are now Polish. Our armies secured these lands for Poland and if our troops are occupying houses, they are houses which in the past belonged to Germans.

Thus, during the talks we shall be discussing very complicated problems.

[Domanski] Mr. Ambassador, you have been in Poland for the past five months. From the Polish point of view, the Soviet ambassador has always had particular importance in Poland. What is your assessment of these five months, namely, your contacts on the presidential, government, and Sejm level, and not forgetting of course your contacts with ordinary Poles?

[Kashlev] These months were not easy. I have never been a Polonophile, so to say, although I had many friends here and participated in many diplomatic contacts. However, I have ben very pleased by the reception I have received.

I am not a party representative or an economic activist who was posted here. I am a career diplomat and I have spent my whole life considering problems such as disarmament and human rights. I consider myself a bit of a dissident, with a slight leaning to the left, and what is most important, I arrived in Poland without any prejudices. I have a wide circle of contacts with various Poles of different backgrounds. Apart from my contacts with the president, prime minister, and other ministers, I have also visited Primate Glemp, Bronislaw Geremek, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Bujak and many other distinguished personalities with whom the former Soviet Embassy maintained no contact at all.

[Domanski] What about Walesa?

[Kashlev] I have only had a photograph taken with Walesa. That is to say, I have had a photograph taken with a life-size paper cutout of Lech Walesa. Recently, accompanied by our press attache, I visited the offices of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and sent my deputy to attend the 10th anniversary celebrations of "Solidarity." We have no prejudices and are fully aware what an important role Walesa plays in Poland today. I would like to meet him, but have not had the opportunity of going to Gdansk. I have sent him an invitation to attend a reception at the Soviet Embassy on the occasion of my country's national day. In the invitation I expressed a desire to establish contact in the interests of both our nations. As far as I know, the "Solidarity" chairman is also interested in maintaining and developing contacts with us.

[Domanski] We are now in the middle of a presidential campaign....

[Kashlev] We shall accept Poland's choice. It is up to you whom you decide to elect. For us, what is most important is that Poland is friendly to the Soviet Union.

Spokesman Regrets Kashlev's Remarks

LD1611202190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] The Foreign Ministry press spokesman has used the term "unfortunate" to characterize the statement made by the Soviet ambassador to Warsaw for the SZTANDAR MLODYCH weekly. The USSR representative spoke, among other things, about former German lands and about houses which once belonged to Germans. He also declared that the Soviet troops had secured these lands for Poland.

KPN Wants Kashlev Recalled

LD1411224790 Warsap PAP in English 1917 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—The Political Council of the Right-Wing Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) appealed to Poland's minister of foreign affairs to immediately demand that the Soviet Government recall Yuriy Kashlev from his post of the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Poland.

This demand has been issued in connection with an interview granted by the ambassador for the youth daily "SZTANDAR MLODYCH". Kashlev said, among other things: "(Soviet) troops appeared here not like in Czechoslovakia or Hungary. They are stationed on former German territories, now Polish. These were our troops that offered Poland these territories and if soldiers live in any houses there, these are houses which used to belong to Germans."

In its statement, KPN wrote: "We have already lost the habit of treating a part of Poland's national property as post-German."

Swiecicki News Conference on Trade With USSR

LD1611045790 Warsaw PAP in English 2246 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—The death of the clearing ruble is not easy. Following long negotiations Poland and the USSR will settle accounts in free currencies as of January 1, 1991. This refers to new contracts since those which will not have been realized by the end of this year for various reasons, will be settled by March 31, 1991, according to the old rules, Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki said at a press conference here today. He has just returned from Moscow having signed an inter government agreement there.

The current trade between both countries can be presented as follows:

—The agreement opens the way to further negotiations on purchases of oil, natural gas, and sales of Polish commodities.

—The quota of gas purchases also depend on talks on settling accounts for the construction of the Jamburg pipeline and on agreeing on extra sales of gas (1.4 billion cubic metres) in return for Polish farm produce.

—The USSR is ready to increase turnover but has limited hard currency resources. Therefore other forms of settling accounts, for instance barter or clearing, are possible.

—The agreement does not refer to the problem of Polish debt owed to the USSR (4.5 billion rubles) to be repaid in the years 1991-98 nor to the settlement of Poland's surplus in trade with the Soviet Union this year (it will probably amount to four billion rubles). Separate talks are carried on on this issue.

Skubiszewski Notes Importance of Border Treaty

LD1611112290 Warsaw PAP in English 1036 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—"The Polish-German border treaty, signed on November 14, is not only a Polish matter but also a German one. The treaty is a proof of all-German consent to the border," Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said in an interview published by government's RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

"It was a German decision that laid at the bottom of the treaty. Germany signed it of its own free will, not as a result of war conditions, pressure exerted by superpowers or even not as a result of unification, I would say.

"Let us not forget that the treaty was signed on November 14, that is less than three weeks before all-German elections. At present, there is no point at issue, no Polish-German matter at issue which would require Europe's attention. We have had our own foreign policy for fourteen months now and this is a policy of independence. Very important changes are taking place with a minimum stabilization being however preserved. Our policy must not violate interests of any nation, the sovereignty of any nation. We do support sovereignty. With the stabilization being violated the policy itself will be ruined too.

"Moreover, our partners can see Poland's great role in preserving the stability in this part of Europe. No adventurous policy. I do not worry and I hope that nobody would conduct any adventurous policy in Poland regardless of who will be the number one in the Council of Ministers and Belvedere," Skubiszewski said.

Jaruzelski Meets Canadian House Speaker 17 Nov

LD1711214490 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Speaker of the House of Commons in the Canadian Parliament John A. Fraser, who is paying the visit to Poland at the invitation of Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

During the meeting, the president and John A. Fraser expressed satisfaction at vivid cooperation between the Sejm and the Canadian House of Commons which greatly fosters the development of Polish-Canadian relations.

Mazowiecki To Head CSCE Summit Delegation

LD1411234690 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 14 Nov 90

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Nov. 14—Spokesman for the President's Office Hubert Vedrine held a press conference today at which he briefed the journalists on the agenda of talks and procedure of the CSCE Paris summit which begins on Monday, November 19, to continue through November 21.

The summit will be attended by state or government heads and ministers of foreign affairs from 34 CSCE member states plus Albania which has the status of observer.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will lead the Polish delegation including also Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jerzy Makarczyk, government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska, and Vice-Minister of National Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Mazowiecki Discusses CSCE Significance for Poland

LD1811193690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. All political roads today lead to Paris. This evening Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki left by air for the capital of France.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, in your opinion, what will be the significance of this conference and of the signed agreements for the security of Poland and for our foreign policy?

[Mazowiecki] I think they will be of very great significance from the point of view of the fashioning of a new shape for Europe, since this conference is taking place in a situation which no one, when the date of this conference was being decided, had foreseen. It is, quite simply, a completely new Europe. That is why I attach importance to this conference, not only from the point of view of those matters which had earlier been planned and prepared, but from the point of view of the whole process of the fashioning of the new shape of Europe, especially the acceleration in the rapprochement of the two sides of Europe.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, what bilateral meetings do you expect to have in Paris?

[Mazowiecki] I know I will be meeting President Havel, President Bush, and President Mitterrand. Perhaps there will be further meetings. We shall see. [end recording]

European Parliamentarians Pleased With Visit

AU1611213190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2016 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—The delegation of the European Parliament led by Mrs. Maria Adelaide Aglietta, member of the External Economic and International Affairs Committees in the European Parliament, stated during a news conference to be satisfied with their talks with members of the Romanian Parliament, of the executive power and other nongovernmental institutions, and underscored their democratic, open and sincere character, which helped them get a clear impression of the situation in Romania that is passing from a totalitarian to a democratic system, to a market economy.

Despite the dull image of President Iliescu as a former member of the nomenklatura promoted in international circles, we discovered a president determined to defend the image of his country and capable of doing it, said Mr. Marco Pannella member of the delegation representing Italy. I cannot anticipate our delegation or, the European Parliament's final decisions regarding Romania's adherence to Europe's structures, but I myself will work in the European Parliament so as a positive decision be made in this respect as soon as possible, stated Mrs. Maria Adelaide Aglietta.

Reference was also made to the unanimity of the opposition parties in the Romanian Parliament and of the majority one for Romania's integration into the European Community as well as to the need for an effective economic, financial and moral support to be granted by specialized international bodies for the economic recovery of Romania, this country's economic situation being viewed by some of the delegation members as "serious" and "sick" following the long totalitarian period.

The European parliamentary delegation showed they requested the Romanian Government to hasten the setting up of a juridical framework apt to facilitate foreign capital investment in carrying out the Romanian economic projects.

South African Foreign Minister Botha Pays Visit

Meets With Iliescu 16 Nov

AU1611212690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2033 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received Friday afternoon South African Foreign Minister Roelof Frederik Botha who paid an unofficial, fact-finding, visit to Romania.

Questions were approached to identify ways and means apt to normalize and expand bilateral ties according to the political changes in the two countries. Romania's and South Africa's readiness was shown to initiate a fruitful collaboration on both a political and an economic plane.

At the end of the interview Mr. Roelof Frederik Botha stated to press he thought the potential for collaboration between Romania and South Africa to be very great. He said Romania needed products South Africa manufactured and this country made products his country could buy. He mentioned he exchanged and signed several documents with the Romanian foreign minister, which initiate consular and economic relations between the two countries.

Confers With Roman, Others

AU1611212890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2029 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—His great admiration for the accomplishments of the December 1990 revolution, for the Romanian Government's achievements in such a short lapse of time, for the steps taken toward a radical restructuring of the political, economic and social life, for the instatement of democracy and a fast passage to the market economy were underscored by Mr. Roelof Frederick Botha, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of South Africa, during his talks on Friday evening with Prime Minister Petre Roman. Reference was made to the efforts both governments make to connect their countries to the world assets, the fact being considered that they provided favorable prerequisites for the development of a broad exchange of opinions and of cooperation in major sectors as the mining, oil and machine-building industries. During the interview, specific ways were agreed upon for the expansion of consular relations and the facilitation of two-way official and business affairs.

After his interview with the Romanian premier, Mr. Botha stated to press representatives he viewed it as very constructive. He showed his government was aware of the difficulties Romania has to cope with but at the same time considered it as highly potential and apt to become an important part in the new Europe. He said patience was needed. He showed he came from Africa where there is a lot of poverty and thought many Romanians should visit Africa as they would become more satisfied with what they have got because people have ever lived by comparison. Despite difficulties he thought the Romanian government had done its utmost for this country, adding that Romania and South Africa could have closer ties and their citizens could visit each other. He noticed the two governments basically shared the same objectives and so they could break down the divisions of the past and work together for the benefit of their peoples.

On November 16 the South African foreign minister conducted talks with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic orientation, and Mr. Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism.

Talks Held With Nastase

MB1711145490 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] The Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Adrian Nastase, said in an interview with the external service of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] that he hoped consular relations between the two countries could be established before the end of the year.

He described Mr. Botha's visit as interesting and useful, and said there had been an exchange of information on the developments in Romania and southern Africa. He said discussions had been held in a frank but friendly atmosphere.

Mr. Nastase said the foundation had been laid for contact between South Africa and Romania at all levels. He said the changes in Romania, aimed at establishing a democratic free enterprise society, had created an understanding of the changes taking place in South Africa.

Joint Consular Relations Discussed

MB1711115390 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0640 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Pretoria Nov 17 SAPA—South Africa is to establish consular relations with Romania, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha announced on Friday [16 November] night in the Romanian capital Bucharest.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said in a statement from Pretoria that Mr Botha had held in-depth discussions with Romanian Prime Minister Roman.

Speaking in Bucharest on Friday night while on the second leg of his East European tour Mr Botha said it had been agreed to open consular offices as soon as possible.

The minister also made an unscheduled stopover in Bratislava before leaving Czechoslavakia at the invitation of the Minister of International Relations of the Slovak Republic Mr Milan Kmazho.

Bratislava has a population of over 400,000 with an elected parliament of 200 seats with 137 allocated to the Czechoslavakia Republic and 63 to the Slovak Republic.

An invitation to establish consular relations with the Slovak Republic was extended and Mr Botha said it would receive consideration.

"He assured the minister of international relations that in the meantime Bratislava will be covered by the consular representatives to be stationed in Prague when South Africa opens its consular mission there," said the statement.

Departs Bucharest for Belgrade

MB1711101890 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0900 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pik Botha has arrived in the Yugoslavian capital, Belgrade, after successful talks with government leaders in Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Mr. Botha will spend the weekend in Yugoslavia before leaving for Munich in Germany on Monday [19 November]. He returns to South Africa on Wednesday.

Before departing from the Romanian capital, Bucharest, this morning, Mr. Botha said South Africa would establish diplomatic ties with Czechoslovakia and Romania as soon as possible. He held talks in Prague with the Czechoslovakian president, Mr. Vaclav Havel, and in Bucharest with the Romanian president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, as well as the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Council of Europe Delegation Meets Press

AU1611142690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2351 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/11/1990—Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, received Thursday afternoon at the Parliament Palace the delegation of the Commission for Relations With the European Countries That Are Not Members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe led by Mr. Rene Noerens, chairman of the Belgian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, now on a visit to this country.

During the talks opinions and information were exchanged on the activity and concerns of the Romanian Parliament and parliamentarians for the establishment of a genuine democracy and of the state of law in Romania, for the overcoming of all difficulties still extant on an economic, social and political plane, for the observance of human rights and the promotion of peaceful relationships and of respect among all the country's citizens, whatever their nationality, political orientation and religion. In the context reference was made to certain events in Romania as well as to several questions that have not been elucidated yet with regard to Romanian realities, both sides expressing their wish for Romania to have appropriate conditions for joining the civilized European countries as soon as possible.

The delegation of the Commission for Relations With the European Countries That Are Not Members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe led by Senator Rene Noerens, chairman of the Belgian group in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, called on Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu, who let them learn about aspects of the Romanian police restructuring, the methods the Ministry of the Interior uses to guarantee public order in Romania as well as about the Romanian policeman's code of conduct in a democratic state of law.

The guests appreciated the sincerity of the Romanian minister of the interior while referring to still controversial questions regarding certain events, inclusive of the June 13-15 ones, considering their talk as very useful.

The members of the delegation of the Commission for the Relations With the European Countries Non-Members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, headed by Senator Rene Noerens, chairman of the Belgian group in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, told a press conference on Thursday, November 15, their general opinions on realities existing in Romania, as resulted from a number of talks with members of the government, leaders of opposition parties and political formations, representatives of non-governmental bodies, of the Students' League and of the unions. The delegation of the Council of Europe considered the talks to have been very useful for a better understanding of the issues facing Romania during its passage from a totalitarian regime to democracy.

"We have been glad to see," the head of the delegation said, "that all the political and non-political forces in Romania have expressed their strong wish for real democracy in Romania and everybody has been free to tell his opinion."

In the context, Rene Noerens and the members of the delegation favoured the idea of Romania's entering the Council of Europe with the status of special guest. It was said conditions would be ripe for such a decision to be taken after the release of the conclusions of the parliamentary commissions investigating the events having taken place in Bucharest over June 13-15 and the March ones at Tirgu Mures. The members of the delegation of the Council of Europe were astonished the conclusions had not been drawn yet.

Iliescu Receives Hungarian Envoy 16 Nov

AU1611212990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received Friday, November 16, an envoy of Hungary's President Arpad Goncz, who forwarded him a proposal for a Romanian Hungarian high-level talk.

The Romanian party proposed that the talks be held on the occasion of the multilateral meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's states, in December this year, or on another occasion.

Bucharest Rally Expresses Support for Moldova

AU1811164490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1990—A meeting of solidarity with the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova took place in the Revolution Square of Bucharest on Sunday [18 November], organized by the Bucharest-Kishinev Cultural Society. The event—the seventh of its kind, attended by several hundreds of people—was opened by Mr. Gheorghe Gavrila Copil, chairman of the society, who stressed the need to wipe out the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty from history and remove "the second Berlin Wall raised by the USSR through the annexation of the Baltic countries, of the Republic of Moldova and the counties in northern Bessarabia."

Also addressing the meeting were Mircea Stanescu, secretary-general of the Romanian Social Democratic Party (RSDP) [PSDR], who read the protocol of intentions concluded between the SDP [Social Democrat Party—PSD] of the SSR of Moldova and the RSDP, Nica Leon, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, who suggested that the Romanian Government should take a firmer attitude vis-a-vis the destabilisation in the SSR of Moldova, Prof. Nicolae Petrescu, reserve Captain Ilie Ghioc and Stefan Cucu, president of the League of War Veterans. A minute's silence was observed in the memory of the heroes of the nation.

Songs were sung and poems were recited of Romanian poets of their brothers on the other bank of the Prut.

Anti-government slogans were chanted, as well as slogans in favour of restoring greater Romania.

The meeting was followed by a march to the Soviet Embassy where a message was conveyed to the Moscow officials.

Iliescu Leaves for CSCE Summit in Paris

AU1811144590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Report on statement by President Ion Iliescu before departure for CSCE summit in Paris, in Bucharest on 18 November]

[Text] [Announcer] President Ion Iliescu left for Paris today, accompanied by an official delegation. The delegation also includes the following Romanian Government officials: Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase; Vasile Secares, minister, head of the Political Analysis Department of the Romanian Presidency; Corneliu Manescu, senator, chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission; [name indistinct], deputy, vice president of the Deputies' Assembly; Mihai Balanescu, deputy, president of the Commission for Ecological Balance and Environment Protection; and Geza Domokos, deputy, leader of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania in Parliament. The Romanian delegation will attend the 19-21 November CSCE summit in Paris. This important meeting will be attended by heads of state and government from the 34 CSCE member countries—32 European countries plus the United States and Canada.

Before his departure, Romania's president made the following statement to the Romanian press:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] What are Romania's goals and position—expressed through President

Ion Iliescu's voice—at this important European meeting hosted by the French capital city?

[Iliescu] The Paris meeting is probably the most important event of this year. It marks a radical turning point in Europe's political life and it makes an important contribution to changing the aspect of overall international relations. To begin with, before the opening of the conference itself, two important documents will be signed: the treaty on limiting conventional troops in Europe and a joint declaration of the 22 countries belonging to NATO and the Warsaw Pact on nonuse of force.

Hence, we are talking here about two documents which mark the fact that we have left behind the logic of the two blocs and have overcome Europe's division into two opposing blocs. Then, the CSCE itself begins. The proceedings will be opened by French President Mitterrand, in the presence of the UN Secretary General and 34 representatives—heads of state and government of the European countries, the United States, and Canada—who will discuss issues pertaining to these profound changes taking place in Europe. The final documents will list the measures that should be taken jointly and will institutionalize various joint ventures to promote security and cooperation among all European countries.

Romania attends this conference with the clear determination—that has become quite apparent in our foreign policy after the December revolution—to open itself to the world and to promote broad relations with all European countries. We will emphasize the specific contribution made by our country, as well as all Balkan countries, in this part of Europe; as a matter of fact, this is a concrete and real contribution to the promotion of detente in Europe. We will also present our ideas about developing cooperation among the Danubian countries, which is another important sub-zone, because we believe that all forms of cooperation—comprehensive, at the European level, or regional, in various zones of the continent—are useful contributions in promoting the fundamental ideas of this conference.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what can you tell us about bilateral contacts, which are probably included on the agenda of your stay in Paris?

[Iliescu] Of course, the already heavy schedule of my three-day stay in Paris also includes bilateral meetings with a large number of heads of state—meetings with President Mitterrand, President Gorbachev, the Finnish president, and the prime ministers of Denmark, Sweden, and Greece. I will have an active program.

[Reporter] We wish you much success.

[Iliescu] Thank you. I hope that, in this respect, the atmosphere and the [word indistinct] climate will be useful and will facilitate the promotion of ideas we advocate within the CSCE process. [end recording]

Compensations Given to Germans Deported After War

AU1411203490 Bucharest NEUER WEG in German 8 Nov 90 p 1

[Editorial note: "Compensations for Those Deported to Russia—Endorsed by the Senate"]

[Text] Bucharest (NW)—On Tuesday, 6 November, the Senate endorsed the draft bill whereby the provisions of the Decree-Law No. 118/1990—on compensations for political detainees during the communist regime—also apply to people who, after 23 August 1944, were deported.

This especially concerns the Romanian citizens of German origin, who were deported to forced labor camps in the Soviet Union in January 1945.

This draft bill has been submitted by the government upon the initiative of the Democratic Forum of Germans of Romania, because the Decree-Law No. 118 only made reference to people who were politically persecuted after 6 March 1945. This bill has to be endorsed by the Deputies Assembly, but this is just a procedural question. After the bill has been passed, we will inform our readers what steps former deported people to Russia have to take to benefit from the rights they have been granted.

Free Democrats on Union With Bessarabia, Bukovina

AU1311112990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/11/1990—Romania is confronted with two great problems: the problem of Bessarabia and Bukovina, and the problem of price liberalization; if Germany's union could have happened, then Bessarabia and Bukovina should also unite with the homeland, stated during a press conference arranged at the Free Democratic Party (FDP) [PLD] headquarters Dumitru Dinca, implied in the trial of those involved in the June 13-15 events. In that context, he showed that he would address a motion to President Iliescu to demand him to act for the annulment of the Ribentropp-Molotov Treaty which had torn Bessarabia and Bukovina apart from the Romanian territory.

Speaking about the problem of price liberalization, Dumitru Dinca emphasized that he agreed with it because it represented a step toward market economy, but that it should be preceded by other measures first and foremost among them being privatization, as well as by other economic reforms.

He made then reference to the June 13-15 events, appreciating that there was "a University Square phenomenon" caused by the common people's concern for the morrow.

Roman Receives World Bank Delegation

AU1611142490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0042 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman received Thursday, November 15, the delegation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—IBRD [World Bank]—, led by Farid Bhanji [as received], senior economist in the Department for Europe, Middle East, North Africa—EMENA.

The IBRD delegates told Romania's premier their main conclusions and recommendations concerning the cooperation between IBRD and Romania and the way in which the experts of the above mentioned organization could be of help in the future phases of elaboration of the reform and its implementation in Romania.

The members of the World Bank delegation favoured the program of transition to the market economy and told Prime Minister Roman they would propose the World Bank Executive Council to grant Romania support in technical assistance, consulting and credits for a number of agricultural and industrial projects promoted by Romania's government.

Minister Vatasescu Views Visit to Turkey

AU1611165490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1641 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—A Romanian governmental delegation headed by Anton Vatasescu, state minister for industrial and commercial activities, visited Turkey during the period 12 to 15 November.

On his return home, Minister Vatasescu stated that Turkey's experience aroused the Romanian Government's special interest. As is known, Turkey has taken a spectacular stride during the past ten years and made outstanding progress in all socio-economic compartments. In privatization and foreign capital investment they have done really well. At present, foreign investments exceed 3 billion dollars annually. Due to the interest we took, President Turgut Ozal issued an invitation to a Romanian delegation to visit Turkey to get in touch with its specialists and learn from their experience. "We seized the opportunity to try and solve a few economic problems, such as the terms of the credit Turkey has granted to us, a 10 million dollar cotton import as part of this credit, the import of about 100 million kwh of electricity this winter. To this effect, we have, as a matter of fact, set the terms of an annual import of 1 billion kwh for the next three years, in exchange for engineering works to be performed by the Romanian side in Turkey, that is two hydropower stations, for which we have already received inquiries.

We have had several meetings with government representatives, with the prime minister himself, with whom we had very sincere and comprehensive talks. Although we know Turkey regarded the economic reform in Romania with interest, I must say our hosts' readiness to cooperate was a pleasant surprise. Turkey is a friendly country, sincerely interested in the economic reforms of Romania and willing to back our programme.

Brasov Proclamation Read at 15 Nov Rally

AU1611164790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/19990—To all the citizens of Romania: We are determined to continue the fight for freedom, truth, justice and democracy as we could note a continuous degradation of social, political and economic life, as well as a diversion of the ideals that inspired us and for which we fought in December 1989, when our martyrs fell heroically, reads, inter alia, this document, which was read during the Thursday meeting in Brasov.

We who said no to communism on 15 November 1987 declare 15 November the national day of struggle against communism.

Considering Romania's serious degradation, it is a historic necessity to put communism on trial.

We will bring the people who condemned us to the red death before a moral tribunal wherefore it was set up. This is an act of justice and of conscience. It is not an act of vengeance. We will bring before a moral tribunal also the persons who are accused of crime since December 1989 up till now.

We will impose that the principle of the universal declaration of human rights be put to work.

We will impose the calling of a national referendum to decide the country's form of government that should rule out totalitarianism to build the state of law and restore it to the civilized world we ask the government:

To publish all draft laws which should be submitted to a public debate.

We will impose that the economic heritage become the property of the people who created it.

We will make the government carry out the agrarian reform and give guarantees for trade union autonomy.

A change of government attitude to social welfare institutions. It is time that resources be found to give social security to orphans, senior citizens and the handicapped, who are entitled to a dignified and civilized life.

The recognition of the individual and collective rights of the nationalities according to the universal declaration of human rights, of the international resolutions and covenants Romania is a party to. We do not accept to pit one nationality against the other, no matter who may do it.

Renunciation of the monopoly of power on the important mass media.

The Armed Forces should serve only the interests of the people, their role is to defend the integrity of the territory, not the institutions of power.

The police and the gendarmerie should protect the citizens and their property.

The Romanian Intelligence Service should be subordinated to the Parliament.

Justice should function as a third power in the state.

The Romanian civilian society should be integrated in the European civilian society dynamics. Unrestricted political pluralism is the guarantee of true democracy.

Foreign links should be reconsidered in general, the links with the Romanian diaspora in particular, to dismantle xenophobic and isolationist mechanisms.

Our struggle will end only when the points of the Brasov proclamation have become reality.

Roman, TU Officials Discuss Price Liberalization

AU1611142290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0016 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—Thursday, November 15, Mr. Petre Roman had another meeting with representatives of the trade union centrals.

The agenda included a proposal for the setting up of a governmental commission for dialogue with the TU [trade union] movement. The organization of consultations was viewed as opportune as it brings into agreement the draft normative acts regarding TU activities with the viewpoints of the employers' representatives. It was stressed that such consultations would be held to debate questions regarding the implementation of the government's economic and social policy with a view to ensuring the employers' social welfare as well as to analyse the litigious issues which do not fall within the competence of the management board of enterprises and its bodies.

Referring to this year's budget whose revenues are over 20 per cent lower than its expenditures, the prime minister specified that the government's measures for the liberalization of prices were an outcome of such a situation which offer no other alternative. He underlined that no action taken by the government, by the country's political power could be fulfilled unless it represented the people's will, and specified he wished to have unions as his partners in elucidating any problem of concern to people.

The TU representatives stated they wanted to help the government in its activity and fight together against obsolete structures and retrograde mentalities, but they also criticized the executive for the way of liberalizing prices, for the delay in applying the economic and financial levers apt to lead to a real independence of enterprises. They showed that the government's decisions had sometimes not been observed at intermediary levels.

The question of the TU patrimony aroused the most contradictory reactions on the part of the TU representatives, and there still is no consensus on the way of using it.

The proposal for the setting up of a governmental commission for dialogue with the TU movement was adopted, and it is to become a governmental decision.

Ecologists Reject Price Liberalization Program

AU1611164890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1644 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—The Humanist Ecological Party of Romania (PEU), seated in Arad, considers price liberalization as ill-timed and hastily enforced by the government, consequently, it demands that the government and parliament should urgently and drastically review the liberalization measures and counteract their nefarious consequences, reads a communique of the above-said party.

The PEU terms the social welfare steps taken by the government as insufficient and unjust especially for pensioners and disavow the government's decision to shut down big power consuming industrial units as jobless generating measures.

Trade Unions Protest Price Liberalization

AU1311134590 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 4 Nov 90 p 1

["Communique" of the Operational Bureau of the General Council of the Romanian Free Trade Unions' National Confederation]

[Text] The Operational Bureau of the General Council of the Romanian Free Trade Unions' National Confederation and the leaders of the 17 federations that are members of the Presidium discussed the way in which the 1 November price liberalization measures are being implemented and decided to issue this communique, through which it forcefully protests the Government and the Parliament and stresses the following:

1. The National Confederation of the Romanian Free Trade Unions [CNSLR], representing the interests of over 3.1 million trade union members and of four associations of a professional nature, through the program declaration endorsed during its first congress, expressed from the very beginning its approval of and support for the implementation of the mechanism of market economy in the Romanian economy. The reform certainly implies and involves price liberalization.

The way in which the price liberalization decision—which seems rather a "life belt" for the government facing the obvious danger of galloping inflation rather than a natural course of an evolution imposed by the laws of the market—was being implemented from the first day it was announced shows a serious lack of synchronism between the intentions declared publicly by Prime Minister Petre Roman and the way in which these intentions are understood at the level of various ministries and departments. Embarrassing situations—such as going back on certain measures in front of the public as a result of social unrest which again took over the streets—shows not only a total lack of preparation to act, but also the nonexistence of a sufficient and efficient stock of means for social protection—which the prime minister previously promised us in Parliament. In this case, we cannot incriminate one department or another; furthermore, the responsibility lies entirely with the government which should have explained to the public, in detail in accordance with its principles of "openness," how and according to what economic criteria prices were established in complete contradiction with the medium level of salaries per national economy.

2. Understanding that the government should be granted the necessary time to draft the measures to halt the economic decline and draft the normative acts through which the transition to the market economy is facilitated, the CNSLR decided to take no major action which might destabilize the social and economic processes.

Considering the government's repeated refusal to take into consideration the complaints and proposals made by trade unions and federations which are members of the CNSLR and considering the government's attitude, both during the dialogue with representatives of some federations and within the Joint Government Trade Union Commission—a working manner that has also been shown during the implementation of price liberalization decisions—our Confederation states that it will act according to its provisions to protect the interests of trade union members and to resolutely defend the union's rights and freedoms.

3. We also express our complete disagreement with the unqualifiable way in which the government chose to receive and answer the 19 October protest of the representatives of the National Trade Union Movement against the decision to liberalize prices. The invitation extended to the leaders of trade union confederations to participate in a dialogue "post festum" on 5 November demonstrates the government's erroneous style of work and its tendency to practice a policy of fait accompli. In connection with this aspect, the CNSLR maintains its point of view that the decisive element in Romanian social and economic life is people—the producers of material and cultural goods—and the CNSLR will consistently militate to make the government take this new reality into consideration and respect its duty to the people.

The Operation Bureau of the General Council of the Romanian Free Trade Unions' National Confederation

'Economic Police' Verifying Price Liberalization

AU1211111190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—Economic police in cooperation with the financial inspection bodies, have continued to check whether the government's decisions are observed about price liberalization, social safety and price and tariff calculation.

The inspections showed that a number of persons still ignored legal provisions and tried to gain big profits from artificially inflated prices for various items.

At present a number of 14 persons caught committing penal offences are being investigated before being sent to court, while another 42 have been fined a total amount of 390.000 lei.

Metropolitan of Banat Joins Civic Alliance

AU1511140190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/11/1990—In its November 15 issue, the "ROMANIA LIBERA" daily inserts in facsimile the letter of the Metropolitan of Banat, Nicolae Corneanu, of adherence to the Civic Alliance set up in Bucharest a week ago.

"Conscious of the just reasons on which it is based and agreeing with its purposes, understanding the necessity that the church should answer the call to support the efforts for the rebirth of civic society and to assume its incumbent responsibilities, the metropolitan writes, I have decided to join those who have already adhered or will adhere to the Civic Alliance, being convinced that it will support the values of faith, humanity and democracy, it will ensure the regaining of national identity and dignity."

FSN To Organize Meeting in Bucharest 20 Nov

AU1711203790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] We have received the following communique from the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front [FSN]: Romanian society has reached a point of fundamental importance for its future. The efforts to achieve comprehensive reconstruction of the society's structures and the scope of transformations, which presuppose the achievement of the ideals of the December 1989 revolution, require—as the only alternative—constructive, lucid, and involved actions on the part of all responsible forces in our country.

To achieve reform and democracy, to condemn everything that hampers the unity of the Romanian society, to reaffirm the FSN's political options, and to once again express the cohesion of all those who have put their trust in the political formation that won the elections, the FSN will organize a meeting in Bucharest's Aviators Square on Tuesday, 20 November 1990 at 1500. This meeting will be attended by leaders of the FSN, senators, and deputies, as well as government members, trade union leaders, and representatives of the civic society.

The communique is signed by the first vice president of the FSN Steering Collegium, Mr. Claudiu Iordache.

Labor Minister Explains New Wage Law

AU1611142090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0008 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—The bill of the new pay law will propose a new system of salary and wage benchmark levels, said Mr. Catalin Zamfir, minister of labour and social welfare, Thursday, 15 November. Group negotiation, he explained, will be the basic principle, between partners that is management and employees, who will decide upon the general and pay individual levels. State-subsidised units will make exception from the rule.

Among the principles of the new law is that of preventing artificially inflated salaries that may escalate the cost of living. Therefore the law provides minimum and maximum pay levels, however without rigid limits or artificial barriers, to allow highly trained and hard-working staff to be substantially paid.

The law tries to counteract an inflating spiral caused by units giving in to salary rise demands, which may lead to higher expenditures, higher costs and eventually to economic disturbances.

The transition to the new pay system, as it was explained, will entail painful effects as well but its enforcement is imperative for the efficiency of the whole economic system. Due to it, the 1991 production estimates are more optimistic than the 1989 and much above the 1990 levels.

Prosecutor's Office Against Robu's Resignation

AU1411114290

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian on 8 November carries on page 2, under the headline "A Contested Resignation," a 400-word statement from the Steering Collegium of the Prosecutor's Office which notes that the resignation request handed in by Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu comes at a time when "certain publications are engaged in a slander campaign against him and the Prosecutor's Office," with the aim of "distorting the image of this institution in the awareness of the public." Having come to the conclusion that the Prosecutor's Office has "fulfilled its duties in the period since the revolution" and that the prosecutor general is "held in high esteem" for his "competence and honesty," the Steering Collegium "finds that there is no serious justification for dismissing Mr. Gheorghe Robu" from his position and that "his staying on is still necessary for commendably fulfilling the tasks of this institution." Consequently, the Steering Collegium "expresses the hope that Romania's president will reject his resignation request."

Information Requested on Former PCR Assets

AU1311075990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Nov 90 p 1

[Editorial note: "Questions to Which No Answers Have Been Provided"]

[Text] In view of our country's particularly serious economic situation and the prime minister's statement on the precarious state of the country's budget, answers to a few questions are required:

1. Why has there been no report (as it was expected) on the mobile and financial assets of the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR] (and those of Ceausescu) and on how they have been used?
2. Why has nothing been announced about the foreign currency funds of the former dictatorship, which were deposited abroad?
3. Why has there been no report on the assets of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions and on how they were used later?
4. Why was there no announcement on the country's budget the moment the new leadership took over, and on how it has been used?
5. How has the Liberty Account, as well as the sums of money received from within the country and abroad been used as aid?

The answers to these questions could help us judge the government's managerial abilities and could also tell us a few things about the current situation of our country's budget. As far as we know, not even Parliament has been informed about this budget.

ADEVARUL Condemns 'Destabilizing Actions'

AU1411114090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/11/1990—Independent daily "ADEVARUL" draws attention on the catastrophic scope and effects of the present political game for accession to power which is becoming more and more obvious on the eve of the bloody December 1989 commemoration.

Against the background of economic difficulties, publicist Al. Gavrilescu comments in an article published in the November 14 issue of the mentioned paper, the opposition finds the best moment to assert itself. But, pouring oil on the fire at a moment when Romania's rebirth depends on a reconstruction of its industrial basis through a market economy, the same opposition will no longer accept the power's status quo and advances destructive street-tested solutions of the June 13-15 university square type.

Abusive escalation and arbitrary forcing of democratic standards staged by eager customers in their struggle for power, the publicist adds, jeopardize public liberties. The "Secret Committee for Police Democratization" recently created in Timisoara and twenty other counties, according to the "Timisoara" society's publication, clearly warns: "it is not the duty of the police to repress by violence protest demonstrations against an incompetent government ...the police will side with the population in any emergency case as is now imminent."

Protests, the publicist notes, are sounding ever more like threats, like ultimatums and are getting extremely serious. Such aggression against social peace is hardly an encouragement for the government's implementation of a reform which the opposition criticizes as being either too slow or more liberal than the liberals'.

Such deliberately destabilizing actions with the sinister complicity of extremism, combined with a campaign of ethnic and religious intrigue in Transylvania could isolate and defeat Romania. From that point of view, the opposition can no longer pretend to be unaware of what such actions may cost us. All the rest is political subtlety, the author concludes.

Burtica Denies Wanting To Set Up Communist Party

AU1411084290 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 9 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Mr. Cornel Burtica Denies Intention of Once Again Setting Up Romanian Communist Party"]

[Text] By virtue of the right to a response, would you please publish the following in your paper:

With stupefaction I read in DIMINEATA No. 217 of 2 November 1990 a piece of news on the first page entitled "PCR [Romanian Communist Party]—Redivivus" signed by George Voicu saying that I was participating in setting up a neocommunist party and terming me "neo-Stalinist."

I firmly protest against this totally false piece of news about my current political activity and against the tone of the item and the attributes used about me. The author of the item knows neither my political concepts nor economic ones.

If, however, your newspaper is interested in the activities I am currently carrying out, I want to inform you that from a political viewpoint I am an independent person, who has not adhered to any of the parties; furthermore, from an economic viewpoint I am working like any Romanian citizen within the framework of current laws.

As I have said on other occasions, I do not want to make a political issue of the differences and disputes I had with the Ceausescu couple; that chapter was concluded with my exit in 1982 from any political activity with all the "normal" consequences of that time: Persecution and trouble on the part of the bodies of repression.

With thanks

Senate Session on Social Protection Reported

AU1411213990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2055 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/11/1990—The top of the Senate's agenda was held Wednesday, November 14, by the bill on the social protection of the unemployed and their professional re-integration.

After long debates, it was established that unemployment benefit should be granted to people not younger than 18. As agreed, talks concerning this law would be continued Monday, November, 19.

Before the end of the plenary session the senators were informed about the all-country actions the Parliament had in view for celebrating Romania's National Day on December 1.

Chambers of Commerce Set Up in All Counties

AU1311113190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/11/1990—The current legislation allows for a speeded-up setting up of chambers of commerce and industry in all counties, states Mr. Aurel Vainar, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania. As many as 35 chambers of commerce and industry have been set up in as many counties, of which 31 are operating as juristic persons, a status acknowledged by the country's government.

Chambers of commerce and industry are to be set up in the other counties, among which Mures, Covasna, on the basis of free consent, in the spirit of the code of trade and starting from the economic agents' own interests. The dynamics of this process, the deputy chairman says, is illustrated among other things by the handbook of the chamber of commerce and industry of Romania put out recently, already outdated, a new one having to be edited by the end of this year.

As regards the relations of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania with the county chambers of commerce and industry, Mr. Aurel Vainar stressed that they were not of subordination but of cooperation, association and affiliation. The status of member of a territorial chamber of commerce is not incompatible with that of member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania based in Bucharest which is not a central institution, the deputy chairman specified.

Railway Trade Union Calls Off Strike

AU1611142690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2233 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/11/1990—As regards the strike announced for November 16, by Romania's

Railwaymen Free Union Federation of the Traffic and Commercial Departments, Mihai Misu Galea, state secretary, head of the Transport Department, said that the representatives of the ministry and those of the union federation had a dialogue for seeking to solve the railway men's claims, at the headquarters of the Transport Department in the Ministry for Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning.

Experts from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the National Bank and the Senate General Secretariat were invited to the dialogue, to give solutions to the general claims.

Most claims were solved in consensus and the solutions were applied. As for the claims out of the ministry's competence, the bodies concerned were appealed to, for seeking solutions.

"That is why," mentioned Mihai Galea, "we think there are no reasons for the strike to be staged, that can be extremely harmful to the national economy and to Romania's population."

In connection with the strike announced for November 16, 1990 by the railway unions of Romania, Minister Doru Pana of public works, transport and physical planning, announced that pursuant to negotiations conducted today, the union representatives decided to call off the strike, as most of the claims are settled.

Stanculescu Views Army Day; Hungarian Relations

AU1311110790 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 Oct 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu by Carolina Ilica; place and date not given: "Land Measured in Cubits"]

[Text] [Ilica] Mr. Victor Stanculescu, minister of Romania's Armed Forces, after a period during which for many years we were forced to celebrate certain "holidays" marked in red on our calendars, here we are, times have changed. One of the holidays that has rightfully remained in the soul and conscience of all Romanians is Army Day, which is celebrated on 25 October, a day which also marks the last battle waged for the liberation of Northern Transylvania occupied by the Horthyst-Fascists. Yesterday, we celebrated both these events in Carei [town in northeastern part of Transylvania]. On our calendars, this day follows 23 August—a date which Romanian history cannot part with, but a date which will have to be reexamined; Mister Minister, would you please review these holidays, both taken separately and together.

[Stanculescu] 23 August gave us 25 October, and 25 October found us victors at our western border. Yesterday in Carei we recalled fundamental historical events with great emotion; however, this ceremony would not have been possible without the triumph of the 22 December revolution. In my address to the nation on Army Day, I will stress the multitude of events that the Romanian people had to go through in this century: alliances, political figures, and so on. Unfortunately, the history of the past 45 years has been written only from one perspective, which shows neither the true torment of this nation nor its prospects for the third millennia.

[Ilica] We build the future on the foundation of the present. Unfortunately the sentimental relations between countries, of which we used to have quite a few, have disappeared. Because the national pride of a country still continues to be determined by the state of its Armed Forces—"vigorous arms, the strong weapon" as our poet Eminescu said—what can you tell us about restoring the dignity of the Romanian professional soldier, of the conscripts' units, and maybe even about a possible statute of the Romanian professional soldier?

[Stanculescu] We are approaching a stage in which we will have a modern Army. This can only be done, however, by changing the outdated concepts and, certainly, with the help of this country which has to give the Army what it needs to make it be the way people wish it to be. As a result, we are about to work out a new legislation regarding the defense of the country which will be reflected in Romania's new constitution. I am referring here to special laws regarding the statute and the condition of the citizen-officer and of the citizen-soldier. The program for professionalizing the Army—a small sprout of which appeared this fall—will have to be consolidated in the near future. We know already how to accomplish this and we have enough data regarding the methods used by other armies, thus we are able to find solutions which are specific to Romania and its Army.

[Ilica] I cannot help being consistent with a journalistic program I endorsed. Although it seems kind of a joke, maybe even an irresponsible act, voices from beyond our Western border—that is, Hungary—let it be understood that in case Romania does not grant total comfort and pamper the Hungarian minority, the neighboring country would feel obligated to intervene, even with its Armed Forces. Knowing that history can repeat itself, how do you view such a statement?

[Stanculescu] I believe that such a threat reflects neither reality nor the possibilities of the other side if we are to make a simple comparison of forces. Furthermore, such noisy voices also appeared on other occasions, and I think that the Carei commemoration can be a warning to all those who are not being realistic about the new European policy—that is, about the new security plan which will replace the system of the two treaties—and about the way in which we understood and achieved bilateral contacts with neighboring armies, with the other European armies, and with world armies.

Wisdom alone should prevail among our neighbors. We should find those points which bring us closer to each other and establish civilized relations among people who state, but also understand that the future belongs to democratic relations which are reflected in both the domestic and international areas.

Committee for Police Democratization Created

AU1611124290 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 14 Nov 90 p 1

["G.C."-signed article: "News from Timisoara"]

[Excerpts] The daily TIMISOARA on 10 November announces that on Thursday, 15 November, at 1600 [1400 GMT] the first rally of the Civic Alliance will take place in the city's Opera Square. [passage omitted]

The same daily also publishes a communique which says that a Secret Committee for the Democratization of the Police (CSDP) was set up in Timisoara on 30 March 1990. This committee, which now has branches in 20 counties, works for the independence of the police from any kind of political grouping and for the democratization of the internal life of the police. The communique emphasizes that the police do not belong to the president or any political party and are not obliged to repress protest demonstrations against an incompetent government. The justification for the existence of this committee is also given by the maintenance and even promotion of certain compromised cadres, who committed abuses in the years of dictatorship or had been involved in the repression of the revolution. In this respect, the committee asks for the people's support in the exceptional circumstances that now appear to be imminent (the wording belongs to the communique signed by the committee—the author's note) and announces that to avoid a repetition of tragic events, the citizens will be informed at the right time about the CSDP distinct signs, so as to facilitate the people's cooperation with the committee and avoid violence and bloodshed.

* Cluj Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum Assembly

91P20022B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Oct 90 p 5

[Virgil Lazar article: "Public Approval of the Decisions of the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum—the Cluj Popular Assembly"]

[Text] On Thursday afternoon, in Freedom Square in Cluj, there was a spirited popular assembly convoked by the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum created in the framework of the National Convention held in the locality. Freedom Square was filled with slogans: "Down With Communism," "Romanians Between the Prut and the Dniestr, We Love You!", "Who Are Guilty of This Moral Genocide?", and other slogans presented by thousands of participants in this impressive assembly. The demonstration was opened by University Professor Engineer Mircea Mihalescu who spoke about the importance of the event which has dominated political life in Cluj for two days: the National Convention of Democratic Antitotalitarian Forums from the entire country. Then Doina Cornea spoke, saying, among other things: "The words which will be said here will be words of hope. The opposition forces are fighting for democracy, freedom, and human dignity.

Meeting in Cluj, they have come to agreement on common, decisive actions. We are fighting for truth, for justice, for love, and against hatred. Truth cannot coexist with lies. We do not want vengeance and we certainly do not want to punish the persons who are guilty of earlier deeds as they have punished us. But we do not want to be governed by members of the former nomenklatura. It is time for them to get out." Received with stormy applause, like Doina Cornea, Marian Munteanu, the student trade union leader, brought the breath of youth to the Cluj antitotalitarian movement. Speaking about the events of the December 1989 Revolution, in which he participated, he said: "Many of us have understood that, unfortunately, we have been deceived and that the ideals for which we fought have not been realized. But the example of Doina Cornea, the most sincere and highest example, remains for us. I am very happy that the idea of establishing a Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum originated here in Cluj—a forum which would extend throughout the country, uniting all those who truly want us to have a democratic society and to have the necessary alternative. Communism will have no chance in Romania! Victory over communism is at hand!"

The following spoke at the meeting: Ioan Lup, from the leadership of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party; the writer Geza Szocs, on behalf of the leadership of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania ("We are fighting for the establishment of true democracy in Romania, since we now and we are convinced that when this occurs the rights and freedoms of the nationalities which live together on Romanian land will evolve normally and naturally"); Doctor Octavian Buracu, on behalf of the Cluj Independent Romanian Forum ("The setting up of the former nomenklatura in power is visible in our municipality and country"); Maxim Fortuna, on behalf of the Timisoara PDA [Democratic Antitotalitarian Party] and University lecturer Elena Pipernea, on behalf of the Iasi FDA [Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum] also spoke at the assembly. When Mrs Pipernea came to the microphone the crowd in the square loudly cried: "Moldova, wake up!", "Moldova, wake up!". Slogans to which Mrs. Pipernea quickly responded, with inspiration: "We have awakened!" With the spirited applause of the attendees the actor Calin Nemes, one of the promotors of the December Revolution in Cluj, read the Resolution adopted by the National Convention of the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum, which was received with great enthusiasm by the crowd—a real public approval of the decisions of the plenum of a movement which began in Cluj, spread throughout the country, and obtained the endorsement of the citizens in this impressive popular assembly. On this occasion, full solidarity was expressed with the Popular Front of the Republic of Moldova in the struggle of its government to preserve the integrity of its ancient national territory. The popular assembly in Cluj was a stirring demonstration showing that a united opposition is becoming a viable alternative and a force in full development, capable of fighting, with increased chances of winning, for the establishment of a real democracy in our country, against the totalitarianism generated by communism and neocommunism.

Ex-Sibiu Securitate, Militia Officers Released

AU1511193090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/1990—The Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice solved the appeal of the defendants Iulian Rotariu, former head of the Sibiu County Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior, Teodor Petrisor, former head of Sibiu County's Securitate, Nicu Silvestru, former head of Sibiu County's Militia, Gheorghe Badineanu, Vasile Popa, Lucian Marin and Nicolae Pinciu, former Militia and Securitate officers in Sibiu, whom the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal had sentenced to 15-20 years in jail on charges of complicity in genocide.

The court decided to refer the case to the Military Procurator's Office of Brasov to complete inquiries. The defendants were set free. They are no longer in investigative custody but they are not allowed to leave the locality where they reside.

Ana Muresan Testifies in Bucharest Trial

AU1011144390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1122 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/11/1990—Defendant Ana Muresan denied before the court that she ever used such words as "fire on demonstrators" or "revolution," or "protesters" put down by the prosecutors who inquired her because she said the information she had at the time of the inquiry was such that she simply could not have used them. She explained the fact that she had signed those statements through her bad physical and mental shape after she was taken in custody, which prevented her from putting up any opposition. It was in the same spirit that she refuted the transcript of her telephone conversation on 22 December 1989 with Nicu Ceausescu after the dictator's flight, the alleged purpose of which was to call him "to take political power over." These are the prosecutors' words, and even though I objected forthrightly, he made me upheld it," [quotation marks as received] she stated.

As concerns the aim of the 17 December politbureau meeting, in the defendant's opinion, it would have been to demote the ministers of the Armed-Forces, of the interior and of the Securitate Vasile Milea, Tudor Postelnicu and Iulian Vlad—for failing to fulfill Ceausescu's previous orders.

The defendant maintained that Ceausescu misrepresented the situation, so she lacked the factors for a faithful image of the facts.

New requests of the defendants and their counsels were discussed and settled in Friday's session.

The court ordered medical and neuro-psychic tests for defendants Constantin Dascalescu and Gheorghe Radulescu who are in hospital—the former at Fundeni, the latter at the Gheorghe Marinescu hospital for nervous diseases—to see if they can be summoned in court.

Further medical tests were ordered for defendants Lina Ciobanu and Nicolae Constantin to see if they can be treated in prison hospitals or if they must be admitted to a Ministry of Health hospital.

To keep track of the property of defendants Mihai Gere, Stefan Andrei and Gheorghe David and prevent it from being taken elsewhere, a 10-day investigative custody was replaced by a 10-day ban on leaving the city.

As concerns defendant Dumitru Popescu, who was set free for the same reason, the ruling to suspend investigative custody was extended by another 14 days until 25 November for medical check-ups.

Defendant Iosif Szasz's request to rescind his investigative custody was turned down: The court will make a decision after the results of medical tests are known.

The cause was adjourned until 30 November when the Bucharest Military Tribunal will resume the trial at 9.00 a.m.

Postponement of Vlad's Trial Protested

AU1211183790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—"Helsinki Watch," an international non-governmental organisation for human rights protection, sent a letter to Romania's President Ion Iliescu concerning the trial of General Iulian Vlad, head of former Securitate. The trial was adjourned as the charge of complicity to genocide couldn't be substantiated. "Helsinki Watch" expressed its concern about General Iulian Vlad's having been charged solely with a crime related to the events during the December revolution. Comprehensive inquiries into the crimes he could have committed while the head of Securitate, being postponed or even altogether eluded. "Helsinki Watch" asks the Romanian Government to conduct criminal inquiries into General Vlad's case all while guaranteeing public disclosure of grave violations of human rights, irrespective of the people who could be involved.

Chief of Staff Ionel on National Arms Arsenal

AU1611144290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/11/1990—Speaking about the ceilings of five categories of conventional weapons that can be reached by each member country within the limits set for the two military alliances NATO and Warsaw Pact Colonel General Vasile Ionel, chief of staff, told a news conference held in Bucharest on Thursday that each of the two groups of countries would be allowed to hold 20,000 battle helicopters, 6,000 aircraft, 20,000 tanks, 30,000 armoured cars, 20,000 100-mm or larger artillery pieces. Of the total share allocated to each of the two alliances, each country can possess 33.7 per cent at the most in consideration of the criterion of defending its national independence and sovereignty with its forces.

In [the] future Romania will have 430 fighters, 120 helicopters with anti-tank weaponry, 1,375 tanks, 2,100 armoured cars, 1,475 100-mm or larger artillery pieces. What exceeds these limits is to be destroyed or turned into means meant for other purposes than military in 60 months. Compared to the means Romania has at present this is a [figure indistinct] per cent reduction. In comparison with its neighbouring countries members of the Warsaw Treaty, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the ceilings set for Romania are higher than those of Hungary with all five categories of weapons and than those of Bulgaria with some of them.

Stressing that various articles in the press that covered the negotiations held this [word indistinct] in Bratislava and Prague asserted that Romania and Bulgaria took stands meant to obstruct the attainment of the goal set, the Romanian chief of staff assessed them as false and tendentious making the point that, as far as they were concerned, the Romanian delegation did but firmly maintain the point of view of the government which meets rational requirements of safeguarding national independence, sovereignty and integrity.

National Bank Governor on Nation's Finances

AU1511143790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1323 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/1990—"From a surplus of about 2.5 billion dollars last year, Romania has now a deficit of 600-800 million dollars over the first semester of 1990" said, in an interview with daily "ADEVARUL", Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank, estimating that "Romania's yearly deficit in hard currency alone will be aprox. 1.2 billion dollars."

The governor of the National Bank explains this deterioration through "the natural increase of intern consumption which had been almost suppressed by the former regime", simultaneously with the appearance of a "totally unnatural phenomenon the dramatic decrease in production and export."

Mr. Isarescu expressed reserves towards the possibility of "obtaining foreign credits to right this imbalance" because of "Romania's yet unimproved political image abroad and the question marks Romania's economic situation raises", added to Romania's long absence from the credit market.

He pointed out that the imports in the first part of the year were paid for from the country's hard currency reserves, which are now exhausted, therefore from now on "it will be possible to import more than we export only if we first provide the financing." To this effect "the National Bank will strive to rebuild the country's hard currency reserves as quickly as possible."

In order to break the present economic and financial deadlock, said the governor, the national bank is preparing a program together with the International Monetary Fund to get an important credit for Romania—over one billion dollars—which will be used "to put the national currency on a healthy basis." Thus in Romania there will be two exchange rates: an official one and a market one, actually an auction organized by the National Bank for Trade Banks, including the foreign ones with branches in Romania.

The governor of the National Bank appreciated that this mechanism is conceived "for a limited period," because in the not too distant future "the official rate will become identical with the market rate" and this will lead to the "convertibility of the leu and gradually to the rebuilding of the hard currency reserves."

FEC Body Issues Statement on Markovic Speech

Media Coverage Discredited

LD1611225290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The FEC [Federal Executive Council] Secretariat for Information today issued the following statement regarding "the censorship and manipulations" Ante Markovic's address underwent:

There indeed should no longer be any surprises left for us about our media and its duty to inform a considerable part of the Yugoslav public on the SFRY Assembly's work and FEC President Ante Markovic's address at yesterday's joint session of two Assembly chambers. What happened was precisely what the SFRY Assembly Information Service and the FEC Secretariat for Information warned of and tried to prevent, as they advocated full, timely and trustworthy information. The public was denied full and authentic information, while the FEC president's address was shamelessly censored and manipulated in a way reminiscent of the propaganda machinery of a bygone era. Thus it was not only Ante Markovic and the FEC who were subjected to this kind of treatment, but also the SFRY Assembly, as the highest organ of authority in the country, whose work generates a great deal of interest among the public, as well as the duty to comprehensively inform this public about everything in the Assembly's work.

The editorial policies of some of the media are geared, when the FEC is in question, to just one goal—attacking the FEC and Ante Markovic. Democratic norms and the principles of free flow of complete and accurate information, as the precondition for and the right of citizens to judge social events and trends freely and independently, are regarded as insignificant. This is not only a flagrant violation of the basic postulates of information services, professional ethics, and the journalists' code of conduct, but also an incredibly arrogant display of disregard for citizens and manipulating public opinion.

The announced event, that was awaited among the public with a great deal of interest in what Ante Markovic was going to say about our current situation and the social reforms in the SFRY Assembly in these decisive moments for us, was covered by "POLITIKA EKSPRES" with just a few distorted and rephrased sentences. Belgrade Television (is it any coincidence that Novi Sad TV and Pristina TV followed suit?), otherwise a popular advocate of live broadcasts (we remember such live broadcasts from the sessions of the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, even in spite of the insistence of this same Central Committee on not having live broadcasts), refuses to do the same thing this time, saying that this event does not deserve such coverage and that later on it will decide about a special program—only to carry, within its second, peak-viewing newscast, a brief journalistic interpretation of Ante Markovic's address and an audio recording of the attacks on the FEC voiced at the rally outside the FEC building, while in its special program it surpasses even its own standards as it slashes out quotes from the address, which then get commented upon and criticized live by the presenter's guest in the studio. In this way Ante Markovic was tried in absentia, with no opportunity to defend himself or reply to the criticism. It is surprising that Belgrade TV's guests agreed to take part in such a montage. Croatian Television finds its excuse for not broadcasting the address in the preelection silence which has not yet begun and is inapplicable to this republic. Croatian Television is "concerned" for the election in Bosnia-Hercegbovina although Sarajevo TV broadcast the prime minister's address. It is encouraging that the responsible individuals of Croatian TV are challenging such pressures on freedom of information.

If the truth rests with those who have recently been attacking the FEC and its reforms so fiercely, what are they then afraid of, and why do they deny their public authentic information from this same FEC? Is it that this public, the citizens, are incapable of differentiating between truth and untruth? What can one make, in this context, of the sincerity of those verbal commitments to democracy, different opinions, various views, and freedom?

Finally, what about our image in the world, whence warnings are coming on this occasion as to our mutual confrontations and hampering and undermining the FEC program of economic reform, market-orientation, and democratic pluralist political relations.

All these reasons suggest once again that the proposal by the FEC Secretariat for Information to the SFRY Assembly Commission for Information to place these problems on the agenda of its session is justified.

Croat TV's Nonbroadcast Criticized

LD1611234290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Ivica Racan, chairman of the Party of Democratic Changes [Partija Demokratskih Promjena—SDP], today sent a sharp protest to Croatian Television [HTV] on account of its failure to broadcast the speech by Ante Markovic, president of the FEC [Federal Executive Council], to the Yugoslav Assembly.

With its failure to broadcast the speech of Ante Markovic, HTV violated one of the basic human rights in the democratic world—the right to information and the free flow of ideas, views, and stances vital to public opinion, Racan believes. The statements by Josip Manolic, prime minister of the republic of Croatia, and Ivan Sibl, minister for information, indicate that the government is behind this incomprehensible decision, and indeed that it participated in this, especially in light of the fact that HTV announced on the previous day that the transmission would be carried.

The explanation that in this way it is respecting the recommendation of the Assembly of the republic of Croatia is untenable, because the appeal made at the last Assembly session, in the work of which representatives of our party also took part, can in no way be understood as an appeal for censorship. Furthermore, the SFRY Assembly session was convened in accordance with regular procedure, and participating in its work yesterday were delegates from our republic, and also present was the member of the SFRY Presidency from Croatia, Racan stresses.

The professed concern for the outcome of the elections in Bosnia- Hercegovina, something which was an argument for not transmitting Ante Markovic's speech, is best seen in last night's contribution of HTV in the program Spektar [Spectrum], in which this time, truly on the eve of the elections themselves, an opportunity was given only to the chairman of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] for Bosnia-Hercegovina to express the point of view of his party, and [the opportunity was] not also granted to members of other parties. The comparison between the FEC president and Milan Stojadinovic in this contribution indicates flagrant interfrence in the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Therefore, we request of the HTV program council and of the government of Croatia that they make a statement on these, in our judgement, unprofessional and undemocratic moves, the SDP statement says.

Army Officer Vows Defense of National Integrity

LD1611153290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Nis, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The Army will ensure peace and safety, which are the key conditions for the implementation of the reform and democratic transformation of the society. It will prevent a violent change of the state system and any attempts to push the country into the chaos of fratricidal war. The Army is not imposing political solutions, but it will not, however, allow others, either in the country or abroad, to impose political solutions.

Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, said this today in Nis addressing officers and soldiers of the Nis Air Force and Air Defense unit. In the course of Kadijevic's visit to the unit, the Air Force and Air Defence commander, Colonel General Anton Tus briefed General Kadijevic and aides about results which members of this Yugoslav National Army branch accomplished in military, professional and combat training. [passage omitted]

Army Rumored To Be Planning New Communist Party

AU1811220390 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 90 pp 20-21

[Milorad Vucelic report: "Army Party?"]

[Excerpts] It is said that every slightly louder plane overflying Ljubljana causes real confusion in the Slovene leadership. They immediately call meetings and talk about a military coup and the intervention of the Army "which is halting democratic processes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia." This is followed by urgent messages to the military leadership asking it what is going on and what the Yugoslav People's Army intends to do.

In addition, various commentators and chronicle writers have been predicting for a year when the Army will intervene. Recently, one of our weeklies even predicted the day of a military coup d'etat. When the announced day went by, these mistaken prophets immediately predicted another one, and so forth. [passage omitted]

In the shadow of these processes and predictions, far away from public view, the well informed say that an attempt is being made to set up a new political organization by the members of the Yugoslav People's Army and a certain number of civilians, mainly former generals and party and state officials. So, for instance, on 4 November of this year, Titograd POBJEDA wrote that "a party putsch is more probable than a coup d'etat, although the current party leaders categorically reject this."

POBJEDA journalist Slavoljub Scekic "has unofficially learned" that "interesting meetings have been taking place in the Guards' Hall in Topcider for months." According to this source, the meetings are attended by "Lazar Mojsov, Branko Mamula, Stevan Mirkovic, Dragomir Draskovic, Pavle Gazi, Mihail Danev, Raif Dizdarevic, Veljko Kadijevic, Petar Gracanin...." This list, the well informed say, should also include Dane Petkovski, Dragan Gligoric, Milivoje Tomasevic, Bozidar Grubisic, and Stane Brovet. The meetings have also been attended by representatives of the official committee for preparing the congress for the renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which is headed by Miroslav Ivanovic.

Judging by what we have learned, the intention of this initiative committee is to completely take over the initiative and become the only legal successor of the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and thus to become the center for rallying communists into one party, under the working title of the Democratic Party of Yugoslav Communists. To judge by everything, the aim is for the existing committee, which has prepared the project of the Yugoslav Socialist Party, to transform itself into a committee which would, on the basis of collective and individual membership, be the center rallying together "Yugoslav left-wing forces."

We have learned that the meetings of this initiative committee last a very long time, often until late into the night, and there has already been talk about how to market this party politically and advertise it on television. To this end, Dragomir Draskovic suggested that the initiative group include Petar Djurdjevic, former director of the "Vuk Karadzic" cultural center in the

Belgrade Drama Theater, as a "young and up-and-coming man from cultural life."

Much dissatisfaction has been expressed with the Socialist Party of Serbia and its policy, and serious accusations could also be heard against the leadership of the Socialist Party Serbia to the effect that "they have deprived us of the party." To judge by everything, it is obvious that having been deprived of their party and because of the changes in name and organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia, a certain number of "orthodox" communists have sought refuge in a new communist party.

Although the criteria which determine the right to join this Democratic Party of Yugoslav Communists have not been completely worked out and publicized, it is certain that, as things stand at the moment, there will be no place in the party for the Socialist Party of Serbia nor for the Socialist Party that is headed by Bora Mikelic. Moreover, it is unclear whether this "privilege" can be used by the Leagues of Communists in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro, and it is not known how the talks and negotiations with Petar Gosev in Macedonia went. All this will supposedly be decided only after the elections in these three republics. The only certain thing seems to be the collective membership of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army. [passage omitted]

Army General Opposes Formation of Republic Armies

AU1211205890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Yugoslav People's Army Is the Army of All Yugoslavs"]

[Text] Ljubljana—In answer to a question asked of him in a comprehensive interview in yesterday's Ljubljana DNEVNIK on whether the Army is the last firm link in Yugoslavia, General Ivo Tominc, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District, said that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is one of the links in the country. A modern state or society must have an army: one exists in all modern societies. The question is whether Yugoslavia is now a modern society and whether legal norms for the normal functioning of each of its parts and its superstructure are being adhered to. In that sense, Ivo Tominc added, I advocate that not one single link be broken in Yugoslavia which truly binds and which could gradually change it into a modern and wealthy society.

In reply to the question—what will be the fate of the JNA if Yugoslavia breaks up?—General Tominc said that the JNA is the army of all Yugoslavs and that on the proposal of the SFRY Presidency, all forms of future cohabitation in Yugoslavia are being worked out. A joint decision will no doubt be known after this work has been concluded and a referendum is organized. The Army will have to adapt to this, too. Society must first of all say what form it wants to take and then set up a superstructure together with military experts which will also contain the Army. "I am personally against the setting up of national armies because history has shown that such armies can be dangerous. There is much speculation about the Slovene army: Some people are seeking arguments in the past, for some this is a political subject, and for others this is a subject which would lead the average Slovene to treat the JNA as a common army," General Tominc said.

In reply to a question on the idea that Slovenia will secede and set up its own Slovene army, General Tominc said that he hoped that expertise and political wisdom would prevail. Otherwise, the formation of such an army is a very complex process and the question would finally remain of what kind of standing this army would have in Europe and how it would defend Slovenia. There would also be comparison with the Kuwaiti Army. A Slovene army would definitely be far more expensive than the JNA and far less effective.

Opposition to federal laws, that is to say, the introduction of a dual command in territorial defense, has weakened the unified system of command of the Armed Forces, at least in peace time, which is not good. Units must also prepare themselves to react in wartime, and during wartime command would be in the hands of the SFRY Presidency. The present duality could be dangerous for Slovene territorial defense, as well.

In reply to a question on whether he thought that Minister Janez Jansa had acted rashly, General Tominc said that not one minister in the government could in fact push matters over the edge if the other members did not agree with this. Therefore, Tominc thought that politicians were anticipating the times and not respecting professionals. "I am convinced that in adopting the latest amendments to the Constitution, the deputies in the Assembly of Slovenia overlooked the consequences. Why, for example, were they unable to wait another 100 days? They could now freeze these amendments until the Yugoslav crisis is resolved."

In reply to a question on whether, as a Slovene in the JNA, he was often in a dilemma over whether to favor the interests of the Army or those of Slovenia, General Tominc said: "I have never experienced such a dilemma for the simple reason that the Army's interests have never been at variance with those of Slovenia. The JNA is also Slovenia's, the president of the Slovene Presidency said recently. I fear that those who talk so much nowadays about the interests of Slovenia will lead this small state into an area where we as a people would very quickly be lost," General Tominc said in conclusion.

New Communist Party Said 'Legal Heir' to LCY

LD1711190990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (LC-MY) [as received] is regarded the political and legal heir to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LOCY) [LCY]—representatives of the new party's initiative committee told a news conference here today.

Ahead of the LC-MY's public promotion on Monday [19 November], the representatives explained their party's major commitments were Yugoslavia and democratic socialism. They, however, did not answer a question asking for names of the members of the initiative committee, saying they would be made known at the official promotion.

In denying that the "Army has had a great role" in the forming of this party, its representatives discarded as groundless the assertions that the formation of the LC-MY meant support for the Socialist Party of Serbia on one hand and opposition, on the other, to the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia (initiated by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic).

They stressed their party would cooperate with all the left-oriented parties which favoured Yugoslavia and democratic socialism. They also announced their party's participation in federal elections to be held once the multi-party elections were soon over in four of Yugoslavia's six republics.

Party Wants To Preserve Federal State

AU1811214190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia Being Set Up"]

[Text] A session of the initiative committee for setting up the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia was held yesterday in Belgrade.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will be committed above all to preserving Yugoslavia as the federal state of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. As a result of the activities of the nationalist-separatist forces in the country and external pressures, Yugoslavia is threatened with the danger of fratricidal war and the loss of its independence. The danger of Yugoslavia turning into an economic and political colony and spiritual province is even contained in the political programs and activities of nationalist and rightist oriented parties. Since Yugoslavia is under the greatest threat at this moment, the defense of its freedom, independence, dignity, and the equality of our peoples and nationalities has priority over all other goals.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will strive for Yugoslavia to develop as a democratic, humane, and just society and it will fight for an economically and culturally developed Yugoslavia, the mutual equality of peoples, and just relations between people which are free of all forms of exploitation. It will strive for all citizens to be able to work and to be educated, brought up, and involved in political life on in equal conditions.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will be committed to respect for human rights and civil liberties: It will oppose everything that is at variance with the interests of peace and social progress. It will fight against all forms of national, religious, race, and other hatred and intolerance.

Despite the difficulties and unjustified errors with which socialism in Yugoslavia and the world has been faced during its development, socialism is, as a society in which there will be no exploitation and humiliation of people, historically inevitable and generally acceptable in the human sense.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will fight for our common homeland and against the loss of freedom, independence, and dignity. It will also strive to protect our peoples from hatred; workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia from exploitation; the youth from unemployment and hopelessness; children from poverty, and the old and disabled from humiliating living conditions.

Since it cannot participate in elections in the republics, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will support parties, organizations, and individuals who are committed to Yugoslavia, socialism in a wealthy and just society, brotherhood, unity, the equality of our peoples and nationalities, and an independent and dignified position for Yugoslavia in the international community.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is convinced that it can establish itself as an organization and influential Yugoslav force on the best ideas and achievements of the Yugoslav socialist and communist movement and on the progressive ideas and achievements of our times.

Convinced that they are expressing the interests, mood, and hopes of all those who are concerned about the fate of Yugoslavia and the future of their children and many future generations, the initiative for setting up the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia has been launched by several parts of organizations, organs, and members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from the whole of Yugoslavia. They also include the organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The initiative committee calls on all citizens who cherish Yugoslavia to support the initiative and join the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia.

The promotional meeting of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia will be held at 1800 on 19 November 1990 in the Sava Center in Belgrade.

Social Democrats Join National Reform Alliance

LD1011124690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] A statement by the League of Social Democrats today says that the program commission and presidium of this party decided to join the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ] because they believe that the identity of views in the program of these parties is relatively high.

All the program goals which the entire SRSJ would not be interested in would continue to be realized by the league in an independent manner, reads the statement of the presidium and program commission of the League of Social Democrats.

Eight 'Yugoslav,' 'Democractic' Parties Form Bloc

LD1111160590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The representatives of eight parties which define themselves as Yugoslav and democratic today accepted the program platform of the so-called Yu-bloc [Yugoslav bloc] for the purpose of cooperation and standing together in the upcoming elections in Serbia, as well as in other republics where this is possible.

The program platform with its emphasis on the democratic conception of the Yugoslav federation, which the Party of Yugoslavs—the president and organizer of the bloc—and an additional seven parties have accepted, remains open for other parties with this orientation to join.

The controversial question of the relationship with the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije] was resolved with the conclusion that this Alliance will have observer status.

Three More Parties Registered at Federal Level

LD1011232990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The People's Party [Narodna Stranka] from Titograd, the Yugoslav Independent-Democratic Party [Jugoslovenska Samostalno-Demokratska Stranka] from Zagreb, and the Peasants' Party of Kosovo [Seljacka Stranka Kosova], with headquarters in Pristina, were today registered at the federal level, the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Information announced. [passage omitted]

First Mulitparty Elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina

Polling Stations Stay Open Due to Crowds

AU1811192890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Even though the polling stations in the first multiparty elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina should have closed at 1900 [1800 GMT], many stations will continue to be open because of large crowds. The republican electoral commission explained the lines of voters with the fact that votes are being cast for several lists and the procedure is complicated. The voting is expected to be concluded in an hour or two.

Most attention has been paid to the confusion over the voters lists. On one hand, the number of citizens in the republic who are not on the general voters lists, so that they cannot vote, is not inconsiderable. On the other hand, it has been noticed that citizens from other republics are also voting who have registered in Bosnia-Hercegovina for this occasion. Ljubomir Nikolic has the details:

[Begin Nikolic recording] In the press center of the republican Electoral Commission, the day has passed with the gathering of figures on the course of the elections. This mainly involves the turn-out of citizens at the polling stations so that by 1700, 1,245,000 voters or 42 percent of the electorate had voted.

It has been reported here that a group of United States congressmen, as well as several deputies from the Canadian Parliament, are monitoring the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They have been in Bihac and other places.

There has been news, albeit unofficial, from many communes concerning errors in the electoral procedure, above all concerning a large number of citizens who have not been registered on voters lists. This was confirmed today by the republican Electoral Commission whose representatives say that this has not caused much unrest or disturbances.

Representatives of this commission will reply to questions from dissatisfied citizens in Prijedor, Bosanska Dubica, Sokolac, and other places and will give new details about the elections sometime after 2000 this evening. In the meantime, the representatives of some parties have protested over these errors. [end recording]

52.5 Percent Turnout Reported

LD1811215990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The majority of polling stations in Bosnia-Hercegovina closed at 1900 this evening. According to the latest announcement from the republic's Electoral Commission, 1,571,000 citizens or 52.5 percent of the electorate have cast their votes.

In the commission's view, the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina have in a dignified way exercised their right to elect their representatives in the echilons of power. There have been reports of incidents and even intervention by the militia in some municipalities. Most of the incidents were caused by problems surrounding ballot papers, which gave rise to justified indignation among citizens.

Bodies responsible for the elections insist that each individual incident will be thoroughly examined and appropriate measures taken, such as the anullment of the ballot or repeated vote. It was said at a press conference this evening that the incidents were of limited proportions and would in no way undermine the good organization or the successful outcome of the elections. For instance, in Bihac [western Bosnia] one person was injured in an incident which was later established not to be connected with the elections.

Election committees have already embarked on counting the votes. Since this is an enormous task, it will take some time before the outcome is announced.

Initial Results Not Conclusive

LD1911093190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0608 GMT 19 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The turnout in yesterday's first postwar multiparty elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina was 53 percent. This morning the republic's Electoral Commission announced preliminary results after only four percent of the ballot papers had been counted.

The initial results provide no indication as to the final outcome since reports from constituencies continue to arrive at the Electoral Commission and the position is changing all the time. In view of the fact that in some constitutencies voting had to be extended up to 2200, more indicative results should not be expected until this afternoon.

At the moment the national parties seem to be in the lead. The position on the list of candidates for the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is as follows: Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA]—Fikret Abdic (45.12 percent) and Alija Izetbegovic (38.98 percent); Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ]—Stjepan Kljuic (33.28 percent) and Franjo Boras (30.01 percent); Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS]—Biljana Plavsic (24.57 percent) and Nikola Koljevic (24.43 percent).

The current position on the lists of the citizens' preferences is as follows: in the Banjaluka ward the SDS is in the lead with 40.52 percent; in Doboj SDS leads with 40.04 percent; in Mostar the HDZ is in the lead with 72.75 percent; in Sarajevo SDS leads with 22.66 percent; in Tuzla SDS leads with 79.26 percent; in Zenica SDA leads with 49.45 percent of votes.

Reports were received during the night concerning protests by representatives of different parties which, as a rule, refer to incomplete electoral rolls and to obstacles which prevented a number of citizens from exercizing their right to vote. Several incidents have also been reported throughout the republic. These will be considered by the Electoral Commission today when an appropriate decision is expected to be made.

Preelection Campaign, Problems in Bosnia Reported

Election Procedure Explained

AU1311150990 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 90 p 4

[D. Stanisic report: "At Least One, at Most Seven"]

[Text] There are eight days left until the first postwar multiparty secret elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, at which the citizens of this republic will elect representatives and deputies to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The electorate will elect a total of 240 deputies to the bicameral parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina and seven members of the Presidency, which will be set up on a parity basis.

Election of the Presidency members will be carried out at all polling stations (there will be more than 6,000 polling stations). There are 28 candidates for the seven places in the Presidency (nine from the ranks of the Muslim population, seven from the ranks of the Serbian population, seven from the ranks of the Croat population, and five other candidates). They were nominated by seven parties that currently exist in Bosnia-Hercegovina (the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Alliance have a list of joint candidates) and include an independent candidate, Bahrudin Bjedic [former SFRY Consul to the United States].

The list of candidates for members of the Presidency has been drawn up by the republican Electoral Commission. The list consists of four parts. One part contains, in alphabetical order, the Muslim candidates, the other Serbian candidates, and so forth. Beside every candidate's name there is also the name of those who nominated them. The ballot paper for the Presidency members is identical. The electorate will vote for two Muslims, two Serbs, two Croats, and one member from the ranks of other peoples and nationalities who live on the territory in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

How are votes cast?

It is up to every voter to decide for whom to vote, that is, how many members of the Presidency he will vote for. The voters can vote for one, two, three, or more candidates. They can vote for all the seven candidates. Regardless of how many candidates the voters decide to vote for, what they must take into account is the nationality composition of the Presidency. What does this mean when it come to the actual voting?

In case a voter decides to vote for all seven candidates, he cannot vote for more than two candidates put forward by each of the three nations (two Muslims, two Serbs, and two Croats), and one candidate put forward by other nationalities. It will not be wrong, of course, if he votes for only two candidates, or only one candidate who belongs to one of the aforementioned nations, or only one candidate put forward by other nationalities.

In all cases, the voters will have to circle the number in front of the candidates' name. The ballots with a circle around the numbers as well as names of the candidates and their nominators will also be considered valid.

The results of the elections for members of the Presidency will be confirmed by the republican Electoral Commission, on the basis of the reports from all communal commissions, considering that these elections are going to held in all polling stations. The results of the elections will be processed in the same way the votes were cast, that is, every part of the list will be processed individually. This method of processing results will ensure the prescribed nationality representation in the Presidency. As regards the elections themselves, a system of relative majority will be applied. Therefore, those candidates who receive the largest number of votes from the electorate in a particular constituency will be elected.

If during the processing of the results of the elections it appears that less than one half of the total number of the voters (there are more than three million voters) in the republic took part voted, the elections will have to be repeated. If this happens again in the repeated elections, this would require the whole electoral procedure to be repeated.

Participating Parties Profiled

AU1511161290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Who Is Running in the Elections"]

[Text] Seats in the future bicameral parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina (130 deputies will be elected for the Chamber of Citizens, and 110 for the Chamber of Communes) will be contested by 13 political parties. Several other parties "support" the candidate lists of these 13 parties.

League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party (Dr. Nijaz Durakovic)

The election motto of the party is: "We will live together." The party strives for parliamentary democracy; a market economy; a new taxation policy; the return of land to their owners; the introduction of an "ecological dinar;" personal, family, and social security....

Alliance of Reform Forces for Bosnia-Hercegovina (Dr. Nenad Kecmanovic)

The motto of the reformists is: "We offer reason and results." This alliance strives for the realization of the program of economic reforms of the Federal Executive Council, and above all for a change in the structure of ownership, ownership democracy [vlasnicka demokratija], an appropriate social and taxation policy....

Democratic Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina (Dr. Mirko Pejanovic)

The Alliance's motto is: "The beauty of living together." It strives for a rule-of-law state, the equality of all peoples, the affirmation of family as the basic cell of society, a dynamic and efficient social development, the social security and health of citizens....

Party of Democratic Action (Alija Izetbegovic)

The party stresses that it is "the party of Muslim cultural-historic circle." Its motto is: "We will not let you down." It presents itself as the party of laymen, a liberal party of the classical center. It strives for people's power which would be regulated through economic laws; the denationalization of enterprises; a liberal economy....

Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (Dr. Radovan Karadzic)

Its leaders consider the party to be "a center party with a mild tendency toward the left" (because of its social policy). In its program the party advocates the national, cultural, spiritual, and every other unification of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina; the freedom of religion; depolitization; a modern Yugoslav People's Army; the rule of law; constitutionality and legality; private entrepreneurship; liberalism in the economy....

Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina (Stjepan Kljujic)

As part of the "global Croatian Democratic Community," this party praises itself on its liberal orientations toward city dwellers as a social stratum. It presents itself as "the only party which protects the rights of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina," as the party which strives for freedom, the planned and systematic religious education of children, and protection of environment....

League of Socialist Youth-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina

"Our hands are clean" and "Only time is in front of us," are the two main slogans of this party. The party strives for a presidential system in which the president would have limited powers; the total and gradual reprivatization of social property; private initiatives in education; energy produced from waste; one third of social property to be transferred into pension funds; the liberalization of private entrepreneurship....

Muslim Bosniak Organization (Adil Zulfikarpasic)

The party appeals to the liberal Muslim masses, to all those who accept the political philosophy of Bosnianism as a "national-historic integration of people living in Bosnia-Hercegovina and their lives." It promises that it will link Bosnia with Europe.

Democratic Party (Branko Peric)

Members of the party claim to be neither nationalists nor communists, but democrats. They do not offer Europe because "Europe will come to us by itself." The key program motto is: "Citizen as subject of politics."

Party of Private Initiative (Emil Cerni)

Their motto is: "Take care of what you live with." The party advocates a rule-of-law state and the equal position of private ownership; comprehensive changes in the taxation system; fundamental changes in education; the return of emigres with capital....

Party of Yugoslavs (Salko Alicevic)

The party's slogan is "Everything for man, and everything from man." The party promotes Yugoslavism, it wants to establish a bourgeois society and parliamentary republic, it strives for the inclusion of Yugoslavia in Europe, the reprivatization of social property, independent judiciary, citizens' jury....

Socialist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (Rabija Subic)

The party's election motto is: "Common life of equal people in a federal Yugoslavia." The party strives for socialism as a rich society of free peoples; the protection of social property from sale for next nothing....

Workers Democratic Party-Party of Federalists (Dr. Dragan Djokanovic)

The party advocates a democratic and federal Yugoslavia; the promotion of workers self-management to real (stockholders) management; harmony and peace; legal protection for private entrepreneurs; improvements in health care of all people....

Candidates' Nationalities Noted

AU1511114990 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 90 p 5

[D. Stanisic report: "Every Seventh Candidate Will Be Elected"]

[Excerpt] On 18 November, 1,077 candidates will compete for the 130 places for deputy in the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Among these candidates are 416 Muslims, 333 Serbs, 225 Croats, 85 Yugoslavs, and 18 members of other peoples and nationalities that live on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the final race for the 110 places for deputy in the Chamber of Communes of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina there will be 474 candidates of whom 179 are Muslims, 167 Serbs, 90 Croats, 34 Yugoslavs, and four members of other nationalities. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb Leader Views Elections

AU1411191990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 90 p 4

[Dragan Bisenic and Dragisa Pusonjic report on interview with Dr. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Hercegovina; place and date not given: "Let There Be a 'Peaceful Bosnia' in the End"; first two paragraphs are BORBA introduction]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo—The suspicion exists that the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be rigged because the electoral law is being wrongly and flexibly interpreted.... No, the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] will not boycott the elections if some changes are not made at the last minute in the electoral law. If the elections really are rigged, we will proclaim them invalid for the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and then the Serbian National Council will make the decisions that it considers appropriate.

This is the way Dr. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the SDS, explains the possible denouement in which the Bosnia-Hercegovina elections would to a great extent lose their purpose as an act of the democratic and free election of authority.

[BORBA] You have often explained—although the public is still to a certain extent guessing about this—what the Serbian National Council actually is: a parallel organ of power; a body which will separate the Serbian people from the others in Bosnia-Hercegovina; or something else. What is your attitude to these interpretations and what is the Serbian National Council really?

[Karadzic] The Serbian National Council is the guarantee for the security of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If the authorities are now elected democratically, if there is no majoritarianism and outvoting, let us hope that the Serbian National Council will have no other work than to be concerned with the cultural and economic aspects of the Serbian people and the Serbian entity in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If—since conditions for this exist in the republican Constitution—the Serbian people get into difficulties, if decisions are made in the republican Assembly on changing the character of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, then the Serbian National Council will be everything that the Serbs need it to be, whether it is called parallel authority or only the authority of the Serbian people.

[BORBA] There is the fear in Bosnia-Hercegovina that there could be a "repeat" of the Knin region events if the Serbian National Council were to start working in the way that you have hinted.

[Karadzic] If conditions are created for a Knin region then it will happen! One should not forget the sequence of events: The events in the Knin region did not occur and only then were the Serbs deleted from the Constitution. Barricades were not set up first and only then were transporters sent. If in Bosnia-Hercegovina the Serbs are not put in danger, there will be no barricades, there will be no autonomies, and there will be no referendum. If they are endangered, there will be everything that could protect the Serbian people from being endangered.

[BORBA] Could it therefore be said that the Serbian National Council was set up in order to be a barrier to a confederal Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] It was created to hinder the creation of an Independent State of Croatia or an Independent State of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Actual state plans exist for the creation of an Independent State of Croatia and the possibility of the creation of an Independent State of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Even the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the communists are telling us that there can be no talk of a depleted federation.... This is blackmail. The Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina says: "If the Yugoslav federation is diminished then Bosnia will be an independent state." There will be no independent state in Serbian regions!

[BORBA] The Serbs will secede?

[Karadzic] Serbs will secede through the Serbian National Council, through the will of the Serbian people, because we will not allow ourselves to be governed, to separate from the center, and become a national minority.

[BORBA] In this context, how do you view the idea of a "regional state [krajiska drzava] with Banja Luka as the capital city"?

[Karadzic] I differ from Mr. Raskovic in this respect. Earlier, a regional state was not a state-legal subject and it would be more difficult to create one. It is much easier to set up a Yugoslav federation out of six or five, or if not, then four, equal federal units. The Serbian people in Croatia have the right to come out in favor of Yugoslavia without the creation of a regional state and if the Croatian people want to secede, then no one has the right to hold them in a vice.

[BORBA] You often mention Serbia as the mother republic of the Serbian people. Will anything in the conduct of the SDS and the Serbian National Council change more significantly with the results of the multiparty elections in Serbia?

[Karadzic] The elections in Serbia do not essentially concern us. We will not be able to influence them, since the Constitution already contains the obligation that Serbia must worry about Serbs outside Serbia. We want to be neutral. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] How much electoral strategy and how much real love lie behind the joint appearances which have recently been organized by the Party of Democratic Action, the SDS, and the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina—when at the beginning of the election campaign you were hurling insults at each other?

[Karadzic] I cannot talk about love: Tolerance and interest are necessary in politics. It is our interest to live in peace with Croats and Muslims. At the very beginning, the Croatian Democratic Community prevented us from cooperating, and some attitudes in the Party of Democratic Action did not make it possible for us to come into closer contact. However, there have been changes: Anti-Serbian stands no longer dominate in the Croatian Democratic Community, while the Party of Democratic Action is allowing the possibility of a federal Yugoslavia. When we think maturely, there are very few questions on which there is no agreement between the SDS and the Party of Democratic Action.

[BORBA] Last week, Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Party of Democratic Action, explained that a coalition with the SDS would be possible after the elections if you unreservedly accept the sovereignty and borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina and if the Serbian National Council loses the prerogatives of power, because power can only be won at elections.

[Karadzic] As regards unreserved acceptance of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Serbian people in this republic will never do this. They would only on condition that Bosnia-Hercegovina were a federal unit in a federal republic of Yugoslavia, but if Bosnia-Hercegovina were not to have links with Serbia and Yugoslavia then we do not recognize this sovereignty. This must be clear. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Do you meet with the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] We often meet. Recently I asked the gentlemen from these two parties to spend the night after the elections, and particularly after the results are announced, in a civilized way and without triumphalism. Izetbegovic and I did this, and I think that Mr. Stjepan Kljujic should do the same thing because the Croatian Democratic Community will certainly win in western Hercegovina. However, the two to three percent of Serbs should not be afraid of this victory. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] All eyes are now on the first multiparty elections which will begin on Sunday 18 November. Many people assess that a coalition government will have to be set up nonetheless. With whom would the SDS most like to pool votes?

[Karadzic] I am against a coalition. I am in favor of partnership. I am in favor of the equal participation of all three peoples in power so that when everything is over we could really say—a "peaceful Bosnia."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Sovereignties

[BORBA] What do you think about the autonomy of Muslims in the Sandzak?

[Karadzic] If the Serbian people were to be the bearers of sovereignty in Serbia and if group sovereignty were to be on the table, then their demands would be justified. If the bearer of sovereignty in Serbia is the citizen then this demand cannot be seen as entirely justified because if the citizen is sovereign, he can do what suits him so that no one puts pressure on him to be or not to be Muslim.

Leader of Bosnian Croats Comments

AU1511134990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Stjepan Kljujic, acting president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by M. Lucic and D. Pusonjic; place and date not given: "We Must First Overthrow Communism"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [BORBA] At their first joint news conference the leaders of three Bosnian national parties [The Party of Democratic Action, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Community] announced a possibility of boycotting the elections and inviting people to hold massive street protests. What are the chances of the coalition of the national parties of Bosnia-Hercegovina being announced one day before the beginning of the election blackout?

[Kljujic] I have been offering such a coalition right from the beginning, because I think that this is the only way out for all of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is difficult, however, to say whether this will happen before the elections, but at present I think that there are no reasons for the parties not to run in the elections independently, and since, because of the political situation in the republic, nobody is going to win an absolute majority, it is quite natural that the three parties should enter a coalition immediately after the elections. If the Muslim Bosniak Party receives a significant number of votes, it would be logical for it to join the coalition, too.

[BORBA] It is becoming increasingly obvious that the leaders of national parties have been holding very frequent meetings, though not all that publicly. What is discussed, and have you already established how you are going to divide power after the elections?

[Kljujic] We are not holding secret meetings. Both Izetbegovic (Alija, leader of the Party of Democratic Action), and I have been offering our hands to Karadzic (Radovan, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina) trying to sincerely convince the Serbian people in this republic of our friendship and to make them aware that there are a number of issues on which we have to agree. First of all, we must overthrow communism. We do not want Bosnia, alongside Albania and Cuba, to be the third communist country in the world. The second issue is the equality of the peoples. We are even prepared to guarantee to the Serbian Democratic Party, not the Serbian people, a Chamber of Peoples in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but not immediately, as the Serbian Democratic Party insisted, because this would lead to the postponement of the elections, and we know what this would mean. We offered a Chamber of Peoples for some later date, in the first stage of parliamentary life in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

No, we did not go that far, we did not discuss at all how we would share power after the elections. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] To what extent is Yugoslavia present in the program of your party?

[Kljujic] We must respect internal borders just as we respect Yugoslavia's external borders, because if we did not, we would find ourselves in the situation in which some parts of Serbia would also want to secede, in the situation in which the Serbs would be much more worried than they think at present.

[BORBA] Are you alluding to Sandzak?

[Kljujic] No, I did not have anything particular in mind, but if you want to know, there are several such places.

[BORBA] Kosovo, parts of Vojvodina?

[Kljujic] I do not want to answer this question.

[BORBA] Let us return to the elections. Is there a possibility of a gentlemen's agreement between the Croatian Democratic Community and the Serbian Democratic party on "giving away" votes to each other?

[Kljujic] We do not have any such agreements. However, because the reformists are entering the elections with the socialists and the communists, and because the communist bloc will most certainly vote against the leaders of national parties entering the presidency of the republic, the people have perhaps spontaneously realized that electing Izetbegovic or, let us say, Koljevic to the republican Presidency would after all be more significant than electing Durakovic, let alone others.

[BORBA] To what extent did the national parties "help" their people to "perhaps realize" this?

[Kljujic] People are very intelligent.

[BORBA] Just because of that.

[Kljujic] We have told the people everything we had to say and now it is their turn to decide.

Reform Alliance Expresses Mistrust

LD1711192490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Yugoslavije] for Bosnia-Hercegovina issued a statement today, in spite of the officially declared preelection silence, to express its mistrust in the Republican Electoral Commission, doubting that it will carry out its procedures in keeping with the law.

It is demanded that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina call the republican Electoral Commission to account and set in motion the procedure for recalling the president of the Constitutional Court for passing a decision that annuls one of the crucial provisions of the law just before the elections and preelection silence.

Foreign Observers To Scrutinize Vote

AU1411155190 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 90 p 3

["Dj. K."-signed report: "Inspection of the Regularity of Elections"]

[Excerpt] Several dozen foreign observers and journalists will come to Bosnia-Hercegovina on 18 November to directly follow the first postwar multiparty elections in this republic. They have already approached the appropriate federal and republican state organs and were told that there will be no problems in meeting their request. They will also be allowed, like native observers and journalists, to be present in the main news center of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the communal electoral committees. They will also be permitted, on the basis of an authorization, to visit polling stations. [passage omitted]

Foreign observers and journalists will be able to visit any polling station they want, but are advised to inform the particular communal electoral commission in advance so that it is aware who is coming and when. In this way all misunderstandings will be avoided.

Bosnian Serbs Reaffirm Demands for Ethnic Rights

AU1311164290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 90 p 2

[J. Custo report: "Threatened Democracy"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—The Serbian National Council will not recognize any law or decision of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and other state organs if they are detrimental for the Serbian people in this republic. This is stated, among other things, in a declaration stating the position of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina which was distributed to journalists at a news conference held by the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo the day before yesterday. According to Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, the declaration states that the "Serbian people have the right to decide by themselves on their own fate," and that they want to live in Bosnia-Hercegovina as a federal state founded on sovereignty and equality of its peoples,

Karadzic informed the public that the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party has decide to set up a newspaper and radio enterprise "Javnost," a Serbian business association "Privrednik," and the first Serbian National Bank. [passage omitted]

Possibile Coalition of Macedonian Parties Viewed

AU1811175390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Nov 90

[italicized passages recorded]

[Excerpts] Of a total of 120 seats in the future single-chamber assembly in the republic of Macedonia, only 11 deputies have been elected in the first round of voting. Three deputies come from the League of Communists-Party for Democratic Transformation, six deputies' seats were won by the Party of Democratic Prosperity and the People's Democratic Party, while the Alliance of Reform Forces and the Socialist Party of Macedonia won one seat each. Here is a report from Dragan Stavljanin and Milos Trajkovic: [passage omitted]

[Trajkovic] [passage omitted] *As expected, the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity received the votes of practically all its compatriots. This party will certainly be a very important factor in the new Assembly of Macedonia which everyone will have to consider, and perhaps even in a coalition. The party's leader, Nevzat Haljilji says in this respect:*

[Haljilji] *We have said that we are prepared for a coalition with a party in Macedonia. I mean with a party which has similar orientations to our own orientations.*

As regards this question, the leader of the Reformists, Stojan Andov told Belgrade Radio the following:

[Andov] *We in Macedonia do not intend to construct a government without Albanians. We will see how essential this is for the Party of Democratic Prosperity. There will probably have to be something, not some kind of more permanent coalition but some kind of cooperation in parliament and so on.*

Petar Gosev, leader of the Communists, has a similar view but denies the accusation that he has secretly cooperated with the Albanian party in the past:

[Gosev] *We have never had talks with the Party of Democratic Prosperity about any kind of coalition. In* *itself, a democratic society, or the actors in that democratic society, must consider civilized dialogue.*

The fact that in most constituencies not one candidate for deputy won the necessary absolute majority in this round of voting indicates two things: First of all we are talking about some kind of balance of forces, which is good. However, this result shows that the programs, actions, and image of the candidates and parties were not in fact completely delineated, which also meant that one party did not receive a considerable advantage on this basis.

Therefore, it seems that at least at this moment the necessity of a coalition is being raised for the second round and probably afterwards, as well. It is a thankless task to forecast whether the League of Communists of Macedonia, followed by the Reformists, will be the party with the most votes following the second round of voting, or whether it will be necessary to form a coalition. However, it could be surmised that this is indeed how it will remain.

However, surprises are possible. The national bloc has in many respects lost the initial advantage of a possible repetition of the elections, but some tension remains among the Macedonian people because of the behavior of Albanians at the polling stations. So if national feelings [word indistinct], the national bloc of Macedonian parties could even profit from this.

In any case, it is difficult to expect that Ohrid, for example, will soon become Las Vegas, as the independent candidate and well-known manager, Velibor Dzarovski promised. However, the first multiparty elections in Macedonia are a reflection and test of democracy and, in many respects, an indication of what will subsequently be shown as bad and good for a society.

Only 11 Posts Won in 1st Round Macedonian Voting

LD1711182390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Of a total of 120 seats in the future single-chamber parliament of the republic, after the first round of voting, only 11 deputies have been elected in Macedonia. The Macedonian League of Communists Party for Democratic Transformation has secured three deputies; the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Macedonia [Partija za Demokratski Prosperitet Makedonije—PDPM] and the National Democratic Party have won six seats; while the Alliance of Reformist Forces [Savez Reformskih Snaga—SRS] and the Socialist Party of Macedonia have one seat each.

These, Nikola Koneski, chairman of the republican Electoral Commission announced today, are the final figures on the outcome of the first round of voting in Macedonia.

The republican Supreme Court should now issue a statement on two candidates for deputies who previously were on the list of those elected, because their elections has been disputed by individual parties.

According to today's final figures from the republican Electoral Commission, out of a total of 1,320,961 voters in the republic, 83.98 percent turned out to vote. In 11 constituencies in eight municipalities, the elections have been completed. Two hundred and fifty-five candidates from 67 constituencies are entering the second round of voting for the remaining seats in the republican parliament. Most prospective deputies are from the ranks of the Macedonian League of Communists Party for Democratic Transformation (64) and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary organization - Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] (62); then come candidates of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Macedonia (47) and 11 commonly-nominated candidates from the Democratic-Progressive Youth Party of Macedonia, while the Socialist Party is going into the second round of voting for deputies with 20 candidates.

According to the chairman of the republican Electoral Commission, as a result of irregularities in the implementation of the electoral procedure, the elections have been annulled in 176 polling stations in 33 constituencies. Elections will be repeated on 25 November at 176 polling stations in Gevgelija, Gostivar, Debar, Kicevo, Kumanovo, Ohrid, Radovis, Struga, Strumica, Tetovo, and in four Skopje municipalities: Karpos, Kisela Voda, Centar, and Cair. [passage omitted]

Thousands Reportedly Protest Macedonian Returns

AU1511214990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Branka Nanevska report from Skopje]

[Text] Indignation at errors in the first multiparty elections in Macedonia reached a head today. Two protest meetings were held in Skopje. One was organized by the people of western Macedonia against, what was described as, the electoral farce and the Kosovization of western Macedonia, and the second by leaders of the Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [DPMNE]-VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] against Communists and Reformists which was of a propaganda character and was dominated by nationalist passions and the desire to clash with the main rivals in the race for power.

The republican Electoral Commission announced today that, according to the votes that have been counted so far, the chances of the leading parties are almost identical. Branka Nanevska reports from Skopje:

[Begin Nanevska recording] The figures on the results of the first multiparty elections are not yet final, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation, the Alliance of Reform Forces, and the VMRO-DPMNE enter the second stage of the electoral race with an almost equal number of candidates. The transformed Communists and the reformists so far have 60 each but VMRO has only seven candidates fewer.

Encouraged by these results, those who had called on the people to protest last night, the parties of the Front for National Unity, first of all supposedly canceled the meeting after agreement with other parties, and did not even appear at the protest of truth about the Kosovization of the western part of Macedonia.

This meeting was addressed by representatives and guests [words indistinct], Macedonian emigrants from Canada, and Muslim Macedonians. They were listened to and given approving applause by more than 35,000 citizens, not only from the western part of Macedonia but also from Titov Veles, Bitola, Vinica, Kumanovo, Stipa, and other towns.

Much was said about the daily fear that the people in this region fear for their lives, honor, and dignity in the face of assault from Albanian nationalists and separatists, as well as about the electoral farce on Sunday [18 November], the inappropriate behavior of members of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, and pressure to emigrate. They demanded protection from the republican authorities, the annulment of the elections and the organization of new ones at which Macedonian parties would present joint candidates, a halt to the emigration of Macedonians and the settlement of Albanians from Kosovo, the return of usurped land to its real owners, and so on.

It was stressed that the people's voice was not being raised against Albanians who want to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors, but against enemies who want to make a Greater Albania out of Macedonia and against the incompetent organs of the republican authorities which are allowing this.

Most people dispersed at the end of the meeting, which took place peacefully, but many supporters and members of VMRO-DPMNE—decorated with party symbols and carrying banners inscribed with parts of the manifestos of the parties in the National Front—set off for the building of the Macedonian Assembly.

They raucously demanded the annulment of elections throughout the republic, a ban on the work of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, the recall of the republican Electoral Commission, the formation of a transitional government made up of representatives of all parties, and the organization of new elections according to their criteria. [end recording]

'Manipulations,' 'Mistakes' Alleged

LD1511201590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—Over 50,000 people from several western Macedonian towns, Skopje and other cities demonstrated in Skopje's central square today. They protested against, as they said, the mistakes and manipulations at the first multi-party elections in Yugoslavia's southernmost republic.

The rally adopted a declaration which demands of the Macedonian Assembly to declare the elections in western parts of the republic and other towns, where there had obviously been incidents and negligence, null and void.

The declaration also urges that all necessary measures be taken to block the activities of Albanian separatists who, as it was said, used the incompetence of the present Macedonian authorities for the realization of their goals.

In contrast to these assessments, Macedonian Electorial Commission President Nikola Koneski told a news conference in Skopje today that the elections for 120 deputies for the republican assembly and members of municipal assemblies were successful and carried out in accordance with the law.

Even CSCE commission member in the U.S. Congress David Evans, who monitored the elections in Macedonia and is currently in Doboj (Republic of Bosnia-Hercevogina), said that, except for certain remarks, he was satisfied with the elections in Macedonia and the fact that Yugoslavia was increasingly pursuing a course of democratization.

According to the latest incomplete reports of the republican Electoral Commission, 13 candidates secured their place in the 120-seat Macedonian Assembly after the first round of balloting.

Due to irregulatities, elections were declared null and void in 54 polling stations in 10 municipalities, and thus voters will again go to the polls on November 25 for the first round, and on December 9 for the second round.

Serb Democratic Party Protests Polling Problems

LD1811212290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—In spite of the regulation on electoral silence today, the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina this evening issued its second statement in which it stresses that now it is certain that between 90,000 to 100,000 members of this party could not cast their vote because they were not included on the voters' register.

Because of a very small number of polling stations in Serbian constituences, those polling stations were very crowded and many discouraged voters left because they could not wait any longer. An example is Pala, where, at two polling stations, over 7,000 voters should have cast their vote. At 2000 over 5,000 people were still waiting.

This statement, which was signed by party chairman Radovan Karadzic, estimates that over 130,000 members of the Serbian Democratic Party will not be able to vote, which represents 12 percent of the overall Serbian electorate. At many polling stations voting was discontinued because of citizens' revolt.

Serb Opposition Parties Plan Election Boycott

AU1611105990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 2

[G. Katic report: "Without Amendments There Are No Elections"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—The 11 parties of the so-called united Serbian opposition [The Serbian St. Sava Party; The Democratic Freedom Party; The People's Radical Party; The Alliance of Serbs From All Over the World; The Old Radical Party; The Serbian Monarchist Bloc; The People's Party; The Committee for Human Rights; The Democratic Party Davidovic-Grol; The Party of Social Justice; and the Republican Party] have decided to unconditionally boycott the elections because the state bodies have not adopted the five amendments to the Electoral Law. If the amendments are adopted meanwhile, these parties ask for the postponement of the elections for one-and-a-half months. The statement on the unconditional boycott was not signed by the representatives of the two largest opposition parties: The Serbian Renewal Movement, whose members said at the last minute that, due to the party convention in the country, they were prevented from attending the meeting, and the Democratic Party, whose vice president, Vojislav Kostunica, took the view that the meeting should be postponed until all parties can be present. [passage omitted]

Serbian Liberals Announce Presidential Candidate

LD1411134790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2228 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The Valjevo-based Liberal Party announced that its president, Predrag Vuletic, will be run as the party's presidential candidate in the upcoming Serbian elections. This was reported tonight by representatives of the Liberal Party during the party's political broadcast on Belgrade Television.

The Liberals so far are the only party in Serbia that has decided to entrust the selection of its candidates for deputies in the republican Assembly to the citizens of Serbia. This evening Vuletic called on citizens to send their proposals for Assembly deputy candidates to the party. Candidates who receive the most votes will be run as candidates by the Liberal Party.

The Liberals were the 16th party to present itself in a slot reserved for party political broadcasts on Belgrade Television.

Green Party To Contest Serbian Elections Alone

LD1611222390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The Green Party will stand alone in the Serbian elections and not in a coalition with the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ] a statement issued by the Green Party today states.

Chetnik Leader Seselj Released From Prison

LD1511180390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—Dr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, was released from prison yesterday, we learned from the republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration, thus serving only half of his 45-day sentence.

Slovenia's Rupel Rejects Any Plans of Secession

AU1811060090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Nov 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Slovene Foreign Affairs Miniter Dimitrij Rupel by Dara Vucinic and Bojana Zukov; place and date not given: "Slovenia Will Not Secede"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [BORBA] What would a confederation of the existing Yugoslav republics mean for Slovene foreign policy, that is, your ministry? What powers would you be ready to transfer to a confederal government in Belgrade, and which powers, in your opinion, should be transferred or left here in Ljubljana?

[Rupel] First, so far nobody has said that a confederal government should be formed. A confederation could have a council of ministers, a commission, like the EC. The European Council, for instance, is an organ composed of the presidents of member governments.

Second, even if such an organ was formed, nobody has said that it would be based in Belgrade. I would personally be opposed to this. Therefore, I must reformulate your question. In my view, a confederation is a union of independent states, and Slovenia is interested in a union of states in this part of the world.

We Are Also Part of This System

Whether this will be a confederation of all republics in Yugoslavia or only some of them, is something that has to be agreed on. We imagine this union something like, for example, Benelux used to be, or is today. Such a union of states would jointly work on resolving certain issues that are important for all them; it would deal with these issues at some higher level. In our country the sphere of foreign policy is highly centralized. Slovenia's contribution to the budget of the federal government, to the federation, is considerable but we do not have the feeling that the federal ministry is the body that would defend Slovenia's interests. This is what is not right. The federal minister in particular works against the interests of Slovenia or, put better, works without coordinating the interests in Yugoslavia.

[BORBA] Do you have concrete proof of that?

[Rupel] As far as I know, Yugoslavia is currently working on the platform for the CSCE talks in Paris, but we do not know anything about this document. Nobody has asked us what we thought this platform ought to be like. Judging by everything, we will not have the opportunity to see that document at all. It is secret even for our colleagues in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as I have been told. We think that we should work together if and until we are in the joint Yugoslavia, that we should all have influence on things that are dealt with in Belgrade, that is, in the federal ministry.

[BORBA] If you had taken part in the preparation of this platform, would you have perhaps supported it without demanding separate appearance in the CSCE meeting?

[Rupel] Absolutely, because Slovenia is still part of the Yugoslav system and therefore, in accordance with this, has the right to partially control it, the right to a creative expression of its interests in it. Now, our impression is that the federal government is something special, something that is not, let us say, a product or a result of republican interests, our impression is that it conducts some sort of its own policy according to its own picture of what the common interests of Yugoslavia are.

We feel very much that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs is conducting a policy for the interests of only one unit of our federation, the Republic of Serbia. Perhaps this assessment is not one-hundred-percent correct, but then the government should convince us otherwise by acting differently.

Why Not With Jovic?

[BORBA] As we know, there are many Slovenes in Yugoslavia's diplomatic offices abroad, at least at the ambassadorial level.

[Rupel] Yes, but if you look at only one step down, you will see that the majority are Serbs. In bodies representing Croatia Serbs are in the majority, too; but let us leave Croats alone, this is not a Slovene problem. Out of the total number of those employed in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the diplomatic-consular offices, only 3.8 percent are Slovenes, and we are not satisfied with this.

In our view all embassies should have representatives of all the peoples. At present some of them are purely Serbian. London is one example, or Prague, there are others. Finally, I am surprised by President Jovic. He himself should wish to be accompanied abroad with representatives of his country's democratic republics which have conducted free elections and thus fulfilled their obligation to European institutions. In my view it is silly for us to sell nonalignment, socialism, and self-management to Europe. Serbia's policy in Kosovo has obviously compromised itself in the world, but I do not want to comment on this because Serbs have the right to do what they want in their republic. If we talk about Yugoslavia, which is a country of different peoples and different politics, then, you must admit Slovenia has something to say in this respect.

[BORBA] Or we will all go our own ways, perhaps?

[Rupel] Slovenia is not the one that wants to leave Yugoslavia, nor is it the one that is undermining Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia have finally done everything in the last six months to meet the expectations of the EC, as have Hungary and some other countries.

[BORBA] In case Slovenia does secede, it will have to organize its own diplomatic apparatus. How Mr. Rupel, would this apparatus be financed?

[Rupel] I do not want to talk about secession at all, because Slovenia will not secede. It neither has the intention to secede nor any interest in such a move. I think that it is possible to reach an agreement on a confederation in Yugoslavia, that is, a union of independent Yugoslav states. If this happens there will be no need to talk about secession at all, in any form.

[BORBA] You are, nevertheless, continuously talking about an independent state.

[Rupel] If we are forced, if there is pressure, we will have to insure ourselves. This is not secession. We do not have any separatist intentions, Slovenia's intentions are in fact integrational. We want to integrate ourselves into Europe, into its institutions. [passage omitted]

Predicted Costs of Slovene Secession Viewed

AU1711185990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 90 p 1

[S. Sicarov report: "Divorce With Low Alimony"]

[Text] Ljubljana—If Slovenia were to secede from Yugoslavia and become an independent state, $7.7 billion would remain in the republican coffers which would include the $5.2 billion which now goes to the federation and the $2.5 billion from the foreign currency reserves which would have to belong to Slovenia after Yugoslavia falls apart. The costs to the Slovene Government after secession would amount to a total of $8.138 billion and Slovenia's independence would cost $438 million, which does not in any way mean economic and financial catastrophe.

These results were reached by Ljubljana DELO which tried to transform the subject of secession, which has been topical for months, into figures. As it stresses, the whole attempt was provisional and based on simulation because no exact calculations exist at the moment and the figures should also be taken as estimates. The DELO researchers were guided by an analysis of the economic outlook for the new Slovenia which was prepared over a period of several months by the republican Institute for Social Planning. The institute thinks that in the economic sphere there is no essential difference between a confederal position for Slovenia and its position following secession because statehood develops to the same extent in both cases.

The figures of the republican statistics institute were used in the calculations, and consultations were carried out in "Ljubljanska Banka" and the Secretariat for International Cooperation. The simulation model rests on two assumptions: That the Slovene state would not be more expensive than the present Yugoslav one and that the Yugoslav market would not collapse. Apart from the fact that secession would stem the flow of funds to the federal coffers, which means that Slovenia would use its own social product itself, it was estimated that in dividing up the federation's property, foreign currency reserves would have to be distributed to those who created them, so that Slovenia, or its central bank, would thus be due to receive around 25 percent of foreign currency reserves, which amounts to $2.5 billion.

The costs of the new state were calculated to include the fact that Slovenia would be deprived of the $470 million that it receives from the federal coffers; that Slovenia would have to pay $1.6 billion for Yugoslavia's redistributed foreign debt; that the costs of introducing its own currency would amount to 1.8 billion [currency not specifed]; that its own army would cost $600 million, and a 50-percent customs duty on exports to Yugoslavia would cost $300 million. The calculations also included the cost of its own foreign service and foreign trade, as well as the cost of changing car license plates, passports, and identity cards.

Kucan Discusses Slovene Plebiscite on Sovereignty

LD1411205890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] A generally accepted idea about a plebiscite on Slovenia's independence and sovereignty will most likely be realized in January of next year.

This was stated at today's news conference with Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan. He stressed that the agreement to submit such a proposal to the republican Assembly was reached during talks between leaders of the political parties represented in the Slovene Assembly and which was organized at the request of the president of the Slovene Republic, the president of the Slovene Assembly and the president of the Executive Council of this republic.

At a meeting in the Slovene Republic, an agreement was reached to propose to the Assembly to hold the plebiscite after comprehensive preparations, analyses, and objective information on its meaning. The plebiscite would be conducted after the multiparty elections in all Yugoslav republics and not in December as originally proposed by Demos [United Opposition]. Kucan thinks the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence and sovereignty is a prerequisite for agreement-seeking on its future association within the Yugoslav or some new framework.

Democratic Renewal Party Wants Slovene Plebescite

LD1811172190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1458 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The presidency of the Democratic Renewal Party of Slovenia (former communists) today joined in the requests for plebiscite on the independence of the republic. The idea on the plebiscite was launched by Demos [United Opposition], the coalition which replaced the communists at the head of the Republic after the first post-war, multi-party elections in the Republic this spring.

In a statement issued on Sunday [18 November], the former communists requested that the plebiscite be thoroughly prepared and that the public be clearly informed of its possible consequences.

The Democratic Renewal Party believes that the "economic collapse, ... increasingly obvious international isolation of Yugoslavia and threat of civil war in regions with multi-national populations seriously threatened the prospects for accelerated and democratic development of the Republic of Slovenia."

As a reason for the plebiscite, the former communists also cited the assessment that in the Yugoslav federation, which is falling apart, Slovenia was politically prevented from entering European integration processes.

Attempt To Cause Kosovo Unrest Deemed Failure

AU1811201990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Following last night's indications of new unrest in Kosovo, it was peaceful throughout the province today. This is what Milivoje Mihajlovic, our correspondent in Pristina, says:

[Begin Mihajlovic recording] Last night's attempt by Albanian separatists to renew unrest in Kosovo did not succeed. A small number of Albanians in the capital city of Kosovo responded last night to the call in the magazine of the so-called independent journalists of Kosovo—which is published in Zagreb under the title of DIELLI, which means sun—to mark the second anniversary of mass gatherings by Albanians and protest the scrapping of Pristina Radio and Television and RILINDJA by lighting candles and shouting slogans.

One could hear some slogans being shouted from balconies in the Pristina suburbs of Vranjevac, Dragodan, and Suncani Breg which were familiar from times of earlier unrest in the province. The slogans which were most frequently shouted were: Kosovo republic, and Long live RILINDJA.

There was somewhat more tension in Pristina's student center where students lit newspapers instead of candles. In reply to their slogan of Kosovo republic, students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality—of which there are now considerably more in the student center than in the past—shouted the slogan: This is Serbia. Everything ended in only verbal clashes. Security in the student residence halls was guaranteed by the presence of a large number of militiamen.

Despite the fact that this call by the so-called independent journalists of Kosovo found a response in Djakovica, Urosevac, and partly in some other towns in the province, this has been interpreted as a failure for the Albanian separatists because in similar situations the response has been considerably greater. However, those who are well-acquainted with Kosovo reality, are convinced that this is an attempt by Albanian separatists to cause more wide-spread unrest in the province and thus justify Albanian endeavors to boycott the elections in Serbia. [end recording]

Kosovo Trade Unionist Speaks of Split

LD1411194390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Nhov (TANJUG)—Hajrulah Gorani, president of the so-called Union of Independent Kosovo Trade Unions [Unija Nezavisnog Sindikata Kosova], confirmed during his news conference today that contradictions and disagreements have occurred within the trade union's inner leadership. Recently this split has been a subject of frequent discussion.

The split took place partly because of the money collected for the organization's account—the money apparently was not given to those for whom it was intended. Gorjani said that members of the so-called craft trade unions and their leaderships in some institutions, such as Pristina Radio and Television and the Ramiz Sadiku industrial construction collective, who collected the money from the citizens, often "in the hand", must be called to account about these funds.

5,000 Attend 1st Catholic Mass Since 1967

AU1611193190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Five thousand Albanian Catholics attended a mass today in Shkoder which was the first to be held since 1967. The mass was conducted by the Shkoder Archbishop Simun Yubani who was in prison from 1967 to 1989 for violating the ban that the Tirana authorities had placed on all forms of religious manifestation.

Rumored Boycott of Vojvodina Elections Unfounded

AU1611194290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Nov 90 p 4

["Lengyel-"signed report: "Demonstrations in Vojvodina—There Will Be No Boycott"]

[Text] Karoly Dudas, a member of the leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], which already has 25,000 members, informed our newspaper yesterday that Hungarians in Yugoslavia had reacted with insincerity, mistrust, and anger at hearing the false piece of information mentioned in the Hungarian media, according to which the VMDK wanted to call for a boycott of the 9 December elections. Karoly Dudas told us about the cooperation that has developed between the VMDK and the democratic parties in Vojvodina.

The 43-year-old journalist Dudas stated that the rumor of an alleged boycott, which had sprung from unknown sources, was based on a misunderstanding. In Ada, a few weeks ago, at the first congress of the VMDK, it had been said that the organization of Hungarians would call for an electoral boycott if the other Serbian opposition parties did the same, as a protest against the machinations carried out by the successor party of the League of Communists in Yugoslavia [LCY]. However, it is already known that the opposition parties will be able to send representatives both to the electoral committees and to the ballot-counting committees. In most communities, it has also been agreed that the voting slips will be printed in three languages.

With the toughening of the electoral campaign, the Serbian Socialist Party and its satellite organizations are putting increasingly great pressure on the press. Yesterday, some 300 journalists—Serbians, Hungarians, Croats, and Ukrainians alike—protested in Vojvodina against this pressure and manipulation. The demonstrators also demanded the resignation of Radoman Bozovic, the chairman of the provincial Executive Council. Bozovic, a follower of Slobodan Milosevic—known as the leading figure of Serbian nationalism—recently succeeded in shrewdly manipulating the resignation of several editors in chief, and he replaced them with his own proteges. For example, he dismissed Zoltan Csorba, the editor-in-chief of the Vojvodina publication MAGYAR SZO [Hungarian Word], for the second time, thus going against the decision taken by the provincial constitutional court. Similar scandals have succeeded one another in the editorial offices of other Vojvodina publications. At the time of yesterday's demonstration, during the afternoon, news leaked out that tempers had been lost at the executive council's meeting, precisely at the moment when press matters were being discussed.

Montenegrin Parties Form Election Alliance

LD1411175990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The Democratic Action Party-Montenegro, the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro, and the Party for Equality [Stranka Ravnopravnosh] will appear together in the [word indistinct] multiparty elections in Montenegro, scheduled for 9 December.

The decision to form a coalition was adopted at a joint meeting of these three parties, held in Titograd. [passage omitted]

[Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian at 1248 GMT on 14 November adds in a similar report, datelined Titograd: "The Titograd-based Party for Equality left the Alliance of Reform Forces for Montenegro [Savez Reformskih Snaga za Crnu Goru]. The party claimed in a statement issued on this occasion that it was impossible for it to remain within the Alliance of Reform Forces for Montenegro because 'all major issues, such as equal representation of different nations and parties within the Alliance, are decided by the majority vote.'"]

Croats To Work, Not Recognize National Holiday

LD1311033990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2344 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—For the first time since World War Two, citizens of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia will turn up for work on November 29, anniversary of the creation of New Yugoslavia.

Under a decision adopted this evening by the Croatian Government elected last spring after the victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] in the republic's first multi-party elections, the holiday may be celebrated, but not at the place of work.

The government explains that this decision does not contravene federal regulations concerning the national holiday.

So far, November 29 has been celebrated as a national holiday in all the six Yugoslav republics.

The other republics have announced no changes in the manner of observing the holiday.

Presidency Decides on CSCE Delegation Members

AU1711152690 Belrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "In Agreement With the Government"]

[Text] Belgrade—At its session held today, the SFRY Presidency decided on the members of the Yugoslav delegation which will attend the meeting of the heads of state or government who will be taking part in the upcoming CSCE meeting. The Presidency also expressed its agreement with the proposal put forward by the Federal Executive Council according to which four bills should be adopted as temporary measures. This was stated in a communique from the session which reads:

"At its session held today, the SFRY Presidency, under the chairmanship of Vice President Stjepan Mesic, discussed the proposal of the Federal Executive Council that four bills be adopted as temporary measures, some topical issues concerning international relations, and other matters that are within its sphere of competence.

"The SFRY Presidency agreed with the Federal Executive Council that it is necessary to adopt the following as temporary measures: a bill on the transfer of funds and resources raised through the first public loan for the structural adaptation of the Yugoslav economy; a bill on providing funds for the purchase and maintenance of fire-fighting planes, as well as the planes which were bought for this purpose previously; a bill on amendments to the law on measures restricting the market and free flow of goods and services that are in the interest of the country as a whole; and a bill on expanding the law on the federation's funds for financing the faster development of the insufficiently developed republics and autonomous provinces in the period from 1986 to 1990.

"The SFRY Presidency has also decided on all the members of the Yugoslav delegation for the meeting of the heads of state or government participating in the CSCE talks which will be held in Paris between 19 and 21 November. The delegation, which will be led by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will also include the federal secretary for foreign affairs, and, among others, one representative of every republic. Moreover, according to the established rules of procedure, this meeting will also be attended by several prominent people from our cultural and public life who live and work in Paris."

Delegation Leaves for Paris 18 Nov

LD1811130690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and members of the Yugoslav delegation which will take part in the meeting of the heads of state and government of CSCE member countries in Paris from 19 to 21 November left Belgrade for the French capital today.

Other members of the Yugoslav delegation are: Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Dr. Vladimir Mitkov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia; Dr. Mladen Ivanic, a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Aleksandar Bakocevic, a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia; Professor Milos Radulovic, a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro; Dr. Dimitrij Rupel a member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the

Republic of Slovenia and republican secretary for international relations; Vinko Frane Golem, a member of the government and minister for foreign affairs of the republic of Croatia; and Bozidar Gagro, SFRY Ambassador to France. In addition, a group of experts left with the Yugoslav delegation.

At Surcin airport, President Jovic and members of the Yugoslav delegation were seen off by Stipe Mesic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency, Dr. Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly, among other personalities.

It is expected that during his stay in Paris Dr. Jovic will hold meetings with several heads of state and government who are participating in the CSCE summit. These include French President Mitterrand, Soviet President Gorbachev, Turkish Prime Minister Ozal, Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, and Netherlands Prime Minister Lubbers.

Delegation's Paris Agenda Noted

LD1811171490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Paris, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—President of the state Presidency of Yugoslavia Borisav Jovic, who heads the Yugoslav delegation to the summit meeting of the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), arrived in Paris on Sunday [18 November]. The three-day meeting opens on Monday. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar accompanied Jovic.

The other members of the Yugoslav delegation [words indistinct] representatives of the republics—arrived somewhat later.

According to the agenda set by the summit secretariat, Jovic will speak in the general debate on Tuesday, the second day of the meeting. The summit is expected to end on Wednesday at noon with the adoption of the final declaration.

Jovic will Meet with several statesmen during the CSCE summit. Among others, he will have talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and is also expected to meet with the prime ministers of [words indistinct].

Slovene Delegation Departs for CSCE Conference

LD1811210190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—A three-member delegation of the Republic of Slovenia left Ljubljana today for Paris where it will attend the CSCE summit which starts tomorrow. A statement by the republican Information Secretariat stresses the Slovene representatives will attend the CSCE summit "because of informative and promotional presentation of Slovene positions in the international arena." The Yugoslav delegation, which is to take part in the work of the three-day summit in Paris, also includes Dr. Dmitrij Rupel, Slovene secretary for foreign relations.

Jovic Returns From Visit to ROK, Japan

LD1511201890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic this evening returned to Belgrade from a tour of the Far East.

Jovic first officially visited the Republic of Korea, as the first head of a socialist state to do so. He next visited Tokyo, where he attended the enthronement of Emperor Akihito and held intensive talks with Japanese officials and businessmen.

RSA Foreign Minister Botha Arrives in Belgrade

1st Official Visit in 30 Years

LD1611225990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 16 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Pik Botha arrived in Belgrade tonight as first official of his country to visit Yugoslavia in three decades time when Yugoslavia and South Africa [RSA] broke off their diplomatic relations.

The foreign minister of South Africa, on his "private visit" to Yugoslavia, will meet with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar tomorrow. Tomorrow he will also meet Yugoslav businessmen and hold talks with Dr Janez Drnovsek, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency, in Ljubljana in the afternoon.

Last March, Dr Drnovsek, at that time president of the Yugoslav State Presidency, during the observances of Namibia's independence in Windhoek, had held informal talks with South Africa's President Frederik De Klerk in what was the first contact beween the two countries' officials since the breach of their diplomatic relations.

On arrival in Belgrade from his visit to Bucharest, Pik Botha told TANJUG that Pretoria had already achieved agreements with Czechoslovakia, Romania and Poland on the renewal of diplomatic relations, and most likely would sign one also with Bulgaria.

It was up to Yugoslavia alone when the two countries would reinstitute their consular relations, the foreign minister of South Africa made it clear.

Arrival, Recent Talks Noted

MB1711151890 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1425 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (SAPA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, arrived in the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, on Saturday [17 November] after successful talks with government leaders in Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Mr. Botha will spend the weekend in Yugoslavia before leaving for Munich in Germany on Monday. He returns to South Africa on Wednesday.

Before departing from the Romanian capital, Bucharest, on Saturday morning, Mr. Botha told SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news that South Africa would establish diplomatic ties with Czechoslovakia and Romania as soon as possible.

He held talks in Prague with the Czechoslovak president, Mr. Vaclav Havel, and in Bucharest with the Romanian president, Mr. Ion Iliescu.

Discussions Held With Minister Loncar

LD1711155490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia respects the positive trends in South Africa which are opening up prospects for a final elimination of apartheid, for the establishment of peace throughout the region of Southern Africa, and for the return of South Africa to the international community. This view was expressed today by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, during a long and in-depth exchange of views with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who arrived in Yugoslavia last night on a private visit of several days.

Loncar and Botha, whose first visit to Yugoslavia this is, exchanged views on the situation in South Africa, the situation in the south of the continent, and future relations.

The South African foreign minister told his host about the efforts of the government of President Frederik de Klerk and the ruling National Party finally to dismantle all institutions of apartheid. Both put forward the view that in this respect significant progress has already been made, while a session of parliament announced for February next year is expected to abolish the remnants of racist laws.

Botha particularly stressed that the government in Pretoria is oriented toward the adoption of a new constitution which should make it possible for all South Africans, regardless of the color of their skin, to participate equally in the development of the country.

He also noted the "interest of Pretoria in establishing peace in Angola and Mozambique," and in cooperation with all countries in southern Angola.

Loncar voiced Yugoslavia's expectations that the positive processes in South Africa would continue in the direction of political and constitutional solutions to the crisis and the establishment of democratic relations in South Africa.

As for the future of relations between Yugoslavia and South Africa, which were officially broken off almost three decades ago, both sides expressed interest in continuing dialogue and contacts.

Agreement was reached as well on supporting business contacts between the two countries, within the framework of the possibilities allowed by the UN resolution on sanctions and by Yugoslav legislation.

Pik Botha had talks this morning on this subject with Yugoslav businessmen and representatives of financial institutions in Belgrade, during a meeting organized by Genex.

The visitors from South Africa, it is learned, showed special interest in the free trade zone in Belgrade.

Pik Botha and his associates leave Belgrade this afternoon for Ljubljana, where they will be received by SFRY Presidency Member Janez Drnovsek.

Says SFRY To Decide When To Renew Ties

MB1711195290 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, has had lengthy talks with his Yugoslav counterpart, Mr. Budomir Loncar, in Belgrade. The Yugoslavian news agency, TANJUG, said that Mr. Loncar had emphasized that Yugoslavia respected positive trends in South Africa that opened prospects for the elimination of apartheid, the reestablishment of peace in southern Africa, and the return of South Africa to the international community.

Diplomatic sources said that no decision had been made to resume ties, but acknowledged that the visit would clear the way for reopening the Yugoslav Consulate in Johannesburg.

Mr. Botha said on arrival at Belgrade Airport that it was up to Yugoslavia to decide when consular relations would be established.

Visits Slovenia; Discusses Investment

LD1711225190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2057 GMT 17 Nov 90

[Text] Bled, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—South African Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha, who is on an unofficial visit to Yugoslavia, arrived on Saturday evening to the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and at Bled talked to Yugoslav State Presidency member Dr Janez Drnovsek about the process of opening of the South African Republic and the possibilities for the economic and other forms of cooperation with Yugoslavia.

Also at Bled, Slovene government and economy representatives met with representatives of firms from South Africa. Possibilities for establishing business contacts and economic cooperation were discussed.

Croat Officials Meet Soviet Civil Defense Chief

LD1411221890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Major-General (Yuriy Ivanovich Salyudin), head of the civil defense department of the Soviet Defense Ministry, has had talks with Bernado Jurlina, vice president of the Croatian Government, and Colonel General Martin Spegelj, Croatian defense minister, within the framework of Major-General (Salyudin)'s visit to Croatia. The talks underlined possibilities for cooperation in the field of protection of civilians from natural disasters, and stressed opportunities for the exchange of goods earmarked for the civil defense and for setting-up a joint venture which would produce goods for domestic and foreign markets.

Loncar Praises Value of Osimo Accords in Trieste

LD1011221190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 212 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] Trieste, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Osimo Accords remain a corner-stone in Yugoslav-Italian relations and have a broader signficance for stability and security in the region, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar says in an interview to the Slovene-language daily PRIMORSKI DNEVNIK, published in Trieste, Italy.

In the interview, granted on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Osimo Accords, Loncar stresses that these had made a unique contribution to the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process at its outset, among others by resolving the delicate question of the mutual border.

The Yugoslav-Italian border is among the most open and secure in Europe, Loncar says and emphasizes that the two neighbouring countries have model cooperation.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary notes that the political requirements in the Osimo Accords have chiefly been met, but that there is still scope for initiatives to attain the economic goals.

In Loncar's view, fresh initiatives and concepts, such as cooperation within the Pentagonale, enable propagation and attainment of the ideals of the Osimo Accords for future economic cooperation.

Budimir Loncar says he is convinced that an adequate law will soon regulate the position of the Slovene minority in Italy, in keeping with the Osimo Accords and standards opted for by Europe.